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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Iran, Iraq agree to stop attacks on civilian areas

MANAMA (AP). — Iran and Iraq agreed yesterday to stop attacking each other's civilian populations, in the first cease-fire reported between the two Gulf nations since the start of the war nearly four years ago.

In separate statements from their official news agencies, the two countries said they were responding to an appeal from UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Arab and Western diplomatic sources here noted it was the first time Iran responded favourably to a cease-fire request since the outbreak of hostilities with Iraq in September, 1980.

The broadcast by Iranian state radio made it clear that the proposed cease-fire would be limited to cities and other populous regions in the nations. Hostilities along the front-

line would continue.

Meanwhile, an unidentified jet-fighter attacked a Kuwaiti oil tanker north-west of the strait of Hormuz yesterday.

The 294,739-ton Kazimiah, owned by the Kuwait Oil Tanker Co., was attacked in the morning. The raid caused a small fire aboard the tanker, which the crew managed to "extinguish at once," a company spokesman said. The vessel was empty at the time.

The attack was the first since May 24, when Iranian warplanes crippled a Liberian-registered oil-chemical carrier near the Saudi Arabian coast. Marine shipping sources said the Kazimiah was hit by cannon-fired rockets, the same type used by Iran in previous attacks further north.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Karameh optimistic despite heavy fighting in Beirut

BEIRUT (AP). — Warring Christian and Moslem gunmen kept up a steady barrage of tank, rocket and mortar fire along the confrontation lines in and around the Lebanese capital yesterday.

Scores of shells crashed into residential neighbourhoods, and the fighting, which began late Saturday and continued throughout yesterday morning, killed three people and wounded 58 others.

But Prime Minister Rashid Karameh, who visited his home in Tripoli, reassured visitors that "things will end up exactly the way we all want them to be. Security and stability will soon be restored.... we are all tired of 10 years of kidnappings, random shelling and destruction and, God willing, we will soon be relieved."

Karameh, a veteran Sunni Moslem politician, did not disclose the reasons for his optimism at a time when militiamen have time and again sabotaged his "national unity" cabinet's calls for a stable cease-fire.

Sniper fire and occasional bursts of mortars and grenades echoed from Beirut's "green line" through the afternoon, after the heavy duels eased off around noon.

Police said fighting also was reported on front-line positions in Beirut's southern suburbs and around the mountain army garrison of Souk el-Gharb, the last government stronghold in the Druse-held mountains.

Shells also crashed around the presidential palace and the Defence Ministry compound in Christian suburbs east of Beirut.

Narrow escape for UN chief's 'copter

AMMAN (AP). — UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar confirmed last night that he and his staff had "a very fortunate" escape from being shot down by Syrian missiles as their helicopter flew over Lebanon's Bekaa valley.

The secretary-general was being flown from the Beirut area to Amman in a Lebanese Army helicopter when the Syrian battery came close to opening fire, a well-informed source said. He arrived safely in the Syrian capital and then flew on to Amman.

At the time of the incident, the source said, Israeli jets were flying over Beirut and Syrian anti-aircraft installations in the Bekaa were on the alert.

"Apparently, the Lebanese did not clear the flight path" for Perez de Cuellar's helicopter, said the source.

Jordanian Foreign Minister Taber Masri, who welcomed Perez de Cuellar on arrival in Amman, said the question of a UN-sponsored international conference on the Middle East would be among subjects discussed with the UN chief.

UN chief: Unifil will not go to Bekaa

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NETULLA. — UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said yesterday that he had no plans to place Unifil soldiers between Israeli and Syrian forces in Lebanon's Bekaa valley. He was replying to journalists' questions concerning a reported proposal to this effect by Prime Minister Shamir. The UN secretary visited Unifil forces in south Lebanon yesterday.

Perez de Cuellar said that he envisaged Unifil forces taking over positions vacated by the Israel De-

fence Forces in the South. He would suggest this to the UN Security Council, he said.

Perez de Cuellar said that he was not bringing any messages to Shamir, whom he is to meet in Jerusalem today, from either the Lebanese or Syrian leaders, although he said he had found a desire for peace in both countries.

In Sidon, a South Lebanon Army patrol came under small-arms fire yesterday. The patrol returned the fire. Observers say that attacks on the South Lebanon Army of General Antoine Lahad have increased in recent days.



Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad (right) and new ministry director-general Nissim Baruch in the minister's office yesterday. (Rahumim Israeli)

5 settlements approved

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Five new settlements were approved yesterday, but earth-moving equipment began preparing the road to one of them in Samaria sometime ago, a well-placed source told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The source said that earthworks for a road to the envisaged settlement of Neria near Elkana began about four months ago. The land for the road was expropriated from its Arab owners, but workers were removing the olive trees in the road's

path and giving them to the former owners, a government source who backs the promoters said.

The decision to establish Neria was delayed because of a dispute over who owns the land. The Joint Ministerial-World Zionist Organization Settlement Committee decided on May 15 to establish Neria. But Justice Minister Moshe Nissim promptly appealed to the cabinet and the committee's chairman, Science Minister Yuval Ne'eman, over the legality of the land acquisition. (Continued on back page)

Orgad proposes law to protect savings

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Finance Ministry officials were surprised yesterday to learn that the cabinet had approved a proposal by Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad to submit a bill guaranteeing the public's investments and savings.

The *Jerusalem Post* has learned that Cohen-Orgad made no mention of his intentions to his ministry's officials. Not even Yehuda Drori, the commissioner of the capital market, insurance and savings depart-

ment, knew that the proposal was to be raised.

Approached by *The Post* after the cabinet meeting, Drori declined to comment on the action.

The Alignment's economic spokesman, Knesset member Gad Ya'acobi, said Cohen-Orgad's move proves the government does not believe even in itself. The cabinet apparently does not trust its own ability to keep its promise not to touch the public's savings, he added.

Diplomats' strike to close embassies, Foreign Ministry

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's embassies, consulates and foreign ministry will be closed this morning because of a three-day strike called by the ministry's work committee.

The government is considering seeking back-to-work orders for several key diplomats, at least during the visit here tomorrow and Wednesday by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The strike comes after five months of negotiations for a special wage increase originally agreed to by the Civil Service Commission and by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, in his capacity as foreign minister.

A spokesman for the striking diplomats, Shmuel Moyal, said that they have, "in writing," a commitment from the head of the commission, promising that the diplomats will get a special wage increment.

However, the recent unilateral decision by the Finance Ministry to give IS10,000 to all civil servants in the "special wage" class also resulted in an end to the negotiations

with the Foreign Ministry workers.

"We didn't want the IS10,000," works committee chairman Yoav Beiri told *The Jerusalem Post* when the strike was called. "because we knew it would harm our negotiations." Because of the strike, the UN official will be barred from the Foreign Ministry, and back-to-work orders will be necessary to get those ministry experts slated to hold talks with the secretary-general to attend the working sessions.

Because of the strike, diplomatic mail will not be sent, cables will not go in or out, the ministry will not answer phones and visas will not be issued abroad.

Even "outsiders" such as labour attaches, economic attaches and various other civil servants employed in embassies and consulates abroad will not go to work as Foreign Ministry employees bar them from entering the offices.

The strike reportedly is gaining unprecedented support from the top levels of the ministry's management, who indicate support for the workers' demands for increased wages.

Teachers plan to shut schools tomorrow Bagrut exams will proceed despite threatened strike

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Secondary School Teachers Association yesterday rescinded its threat to disrupt bagrut (matriculation) examinations, but it and the Histadrut Teachers Union are still threatening to strike the schools tomorrow.

The Secondary School Teachers' Association is threatening to strike over the parity increment. The minister's promise to pay this increment to teachers if other professional associations receive it is not good enough, association chairman Shoshana Bayer said. The teachers want the increment regardless of who else does or does not get it. The Histadrut Teachers Union, too, threatens to strike over the parity increment but also is not satisfied with the proposals for dealing with cuts in instruction hours. Elementary and technological education will suffer the most from the cuts, outgoing union secretary-general Amnon Abramson explained. One hour a

week will be deducted from workshop instruction in technological classes not studying toward bagrut and enrichment subjects in elementary schools (such as music, art, agriculture or physical education) are in danger of being eliminated.

But Bayer said the document issued yesterday by the Education Ministry satisfies her union on budget cuts because it puts into writing agreements reached orally between union representatives and ministry officials several weeks ago. Under this agreement, cuts in instruction hours in junior high schools and academic high schools will not affect classroom studies and will instead be taken out of ancillary services such as the school office or library or hours made available to teachers for administrative duties.

Both unions will meet today with Hillel Dudai, the Treasury's director of wage and salary administration, to discuss the parity increment.

Budget division alarmed by wage, subsidy increases

Treasury in ferment as second aide quits

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The crisis at the Finance Ministry deepened yesterday, as the minister's adviser announced that he was following director-general Emmanuel Sharon out of the ministry, and an open rebellion erupted among Budget Division officials over what they see as the government's recent turn towards "election economics."

The news of adviser Mordechai Fraenkel's resignation came one day after Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad decided not to wait until August to implement Sharon's resignation. Instead, the minister replaced him immediately with Nissim Baruch, who served as economic adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Having just installed his new director-general, Cohen-Orgad was faced yesterday with the increasingly vocal dissatisfaction of Budget Division officials, who feel that the minister is not doing enough to protect the budget from what they see as potentially destructive "election economics."

At a meeting of Budget Division staff yesterday, it was decided to demand a meeting with the minister to discuss their complaints about the turn in economic policy. At yesterday's meetings, several recent government decisions came under harsh attack, including the large wage increases granted to public-sector workers and Regular Army personnel, and the sharp rise in money spent on subsidies.

Budget Division director Aharon Fogel tried to persuade his staff to stick to the path of moderation. While agreeing with most of the criticism, he also asked the participants to keep it "within the ministry's walls."

The resignations are expected to create political difficulties for the Likud, and were picked up by the Alignment as election campaign ammunition. Alignment Knesset Member Gad Ya'acobi yesterday ex-

pressed sorrow over Sharon's step, which he said reflects the breakdown of the Finance Ministry.

The ministry and the Bank of Israel announced yesterday that Fraenkel was returning to the central bank to resume his post as director of the research department. "Fraenkel was appointed as Cohen-Orgad's adviser only a few months ago. According to the ministry, Fraenkel will continue as adviser for a few weeks on a part-time basis to wrap up current business."

Meanwhile, Baruch yesterday assumed his new post after the cabinet approved Cohen-Orgad's nomination. The changeover in directors-general took place at a brief ceremony in the minister's office.

Cohen-Orgad later denied that he had "purged" Sharon and claimed that the replacement had been effected with Sharon's full agreement.

Nat'l unions likely to seek independent wage accords

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The national unions representing workers in the public sector will be free to pursue independent agreements with their employers if negotiations between the government and the Histadrut on a new work agreement are not resumed by tomorrow.

This was said yesterday by Histadrut trade union department chairman Haim Haberfeld during a meeting with reporters at which the principles of the Histadrut's programme to heal the economy were presented. Haberfeld and the labour federation's Secretary-General, Yisrael Kessar, agreed that independent action by the unions could mean widespread work sanctions and strikes.

Histadrut sources said last night that it is unlikely that the Histadrut and government negotiating teams will meet today, in view of the recent resignation of Finance Ministry Director-General Emanuel Sharon and the discontent in the ministry at the direction of the government's economic policy.

The negotiations for a new public sector work agreement were suspended last Thursday, with the two sides unable to bridge the gap between their proposals for new wage scales. Haberfeld said the gap stands at some 15 per cent, with the Histadrut demanding a 22.5 per cent average increase and the government offering 7 per cent.

A meeting expected yesterday was cancelled due to the lack of a common basis for negotiations.

Haberfeld said that the individual unions are now readying themselves to demand immediate agreements with their various employers in place of an overall agreement.

Several unions have already declared labour disputes. A number of other unions are undertaking sanctions to press their demands for the "parity bonus" that was awarded to certain public sector workers three weeks ago.

Kessar outlined a new Histadrut programme for healing the economy. The programme will be presented to the public and to whatever government is formed after the elections, he said. He doubted whether the programme will — or could — be discussed with the present government before the elections.

The programme anticipates the participation of four parties — the government, the Histadrut, the employers and the Bank of Israel. The latter, Kessar said, has lost much of its function in recent years, particularly with regard to monetary policy.

The programme deals with 11 specific areas of policy, including wages. (Continued on back page)

U.S.-Israel joint exercise

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The U.S. and Israel recently held joint military-medical exercises. Defence Minister Moshe Arens told the cabinet yesterday. Arens told the ministers relations with the U.S. have never been better.

Much of yesterday's cabinet session was held in the framework of the Ministerial Defence Committee.

On other issues, the defence minister and senior Israel Defence Forces officers briefed the cabinet in the recent infiltration attempt by terrorists in the Golan Heights. As has happened several times

during the last few months, several ministers complained — mostly after the session — that they learn nothing in the weekly briefings from the prime minister and defence minister that cannot be learned from the press.

During the cabinet session, Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper complained he had heard most of the defence minister's remarks on the radio yesterday morning. When Arens tried to defend himself, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir intervened to say that Arens had already revealed much of the same information he reported yesterday at a Likud meeting last week.

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Lendl beats McEnroe

Ivan Lendl won the French Open Tennis Championships yesterday, clawing his way back from a two-set deficit to defeat John McEnroe 3-6, 6-2, 7-5, 6-4, in a struggle lasting four hours and 10 minutes. (Story on p.4)

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	24	21-29	23
Golan	23	14-24	28
Nahariya	24	17-27	27
Safed	20	12-22	27
Haifa Port	20	12-22	27
Tiberias	23	10-24	33
Nazareth	24	14-24	29
Afula	23	14-24	29
Shomron	24	14-24	29
Be'er Sheva	24	14-24	29
Tel Aviv	24	14-24	29
B-G Airport	24	14-24	29
Jericho	24	14-24	29
Gaza	24	14-24	29
Beersheba	24	14-24	29
Eilat	24	14-24	29

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The director-general of the Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, yesterday held a farewell luncheon for the outgoing Irish Ambassador Sean Roman. Roman, who is based in Athens, has been accredited to Israel for the past five years.

Sylvia Shapiro, chairwoman, Hadassah Council in Israel, will speak on "Two Zionist Families - Both Are Mine" at the Hebrew University Forum, 2 Agron Street, Jerusalem, at 8 o'clock tonight.

ARRIVALS

Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Putz, from a visit to the U.S., where he discussed the proposed free-trade zone with officials.

Israel's ambassador to the UN, Yehuda Blum, to be on hand for the visit to Israel of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Nine U.S. professors of medicine, all members of the Hadassah Medical Centres' American Medical Advisory Board, to discuss how Hadassah will meet the country's future health needs with the hospitals' administration and with Health Ministry Director-General Baruch Modan.

Book week launched

President Chaim Herzog yesterday called for support for Hebrew writers. Launching Hebrew Book Week at the Presidential Residence in the presence of Education and Culture Minister Ze'evulun Hammer and publishers' representatives, Herzog noted that the lot of the Hebrew writer is frequently a difficult one.

The president called for the creation of accepted norms - and even legislation - to guarantee the livelihood and status of writers here. (Ium)

Woman, 72, drowns

NAHARIYA (Ium). - Charlotte Reinhaus, 72, a native of the Netherlands, drowned yesterday while swimming at Gali Gali Beach here. Attempts to resuscitate her failed and she was pronounced dead at Nahariya government hospital.

I would like to have the Thai or Asian lady dressed in red, whom I met at the Lady of Fatima Group Mass at the Church of the Agony, Gethsemane, on Tuesday of Holy Week.

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in all his avodat hakodesh.

Rabbi Zev Chaim Lifshitz Rabbi Yitzchok Feigenbaum

ELECTIONS

Labour accuses Likud of starting violent campaign

By MARK SEGAL
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. Labour yesterday accused the Likud of injecting a violent and inflammatory mood into the election campaign, from the outset, in a desperate bid to win back its disillusioned voters.

Labour campaign information chief Moshe Shahal expressed to political reporters his deep disappointment that almost the same day that his Likud counterpart, Ronnie Milo, agreed with him on the "clean elections" code, he and other Likud leaders began talking of an "aggressive campaign" and an "election war." Deputy Finance Minister Haim Kaufman said, "We won't use kid gloves." Minister-without-Portfolio Ariel Sharon declared, "We'll conduct our election war not in slippers but in hobnailed boots."

The Likud was seeking to heat up the campaign by its slogan "we are the national camp," as if the others are "unpatriotic."

Shahal produced a copy of Young Herut election propaganda, which charged: "Labour will return Eretz Yisrael to the enemy. Labour will bring the PLO to our very borders..."

This was incitement of the worst kind, said Shahal, adding he would apply to the attorney-general to take action under the appropriate section of the criminal code.

The polls indicated that half the 700,000 voters who supported the Likud in 1981 were now wavering, so Milo and company thought they "could issue an invitation to violence by dividing the nation," Shahal said.

Asked why Labour seemed to be allowing the Likud to get away with its ploy, Shahal declared, "We won't let them drag us into their trap. We

don't intend to let them cause us to play in their court according to their rules."

Labour will emphasize its wish to unify the nation, Shahal declared. "We believe the public is more sensible than the Likud gives it credit for. They will not let Milo and company divert the campaign from the real issues of the fate of the country, of maintaining a secure, democratic Jewish state."

Labour will oppose the entry of any foreign troops into Judea and Samaria, and undertakes not to remove any settlements. "The Likud talks one way and acts another. Who removed settlements in Sinai, if not the Likud?" Shahal asked.

He said that the resignation of the fourth Likud Finance Ministry director-general was sufficient evidence of the government's incompetence and the minister's incapacity to operate.

Labour's economic plan will be implemented over four years, based on a social compact with the Histadrut and employers. The emphasis would be on growth and full employment.

Labour had a united leadership in contrast to the warring Likud front bench, he said. Shahal regretted the Likud's rejection of his offer to reduce television electioneering by 25 per cent, which would not only have saved money but also have lowered tension.

Labour planned to have only one big open-air rally, in Tel Aviv's Kikar Malchei Israel, to wind up its campaign.

Shahal confirmed that contacts were under way for the television debate between Prime Minister Shamir and Labour Party chairman Peres.

Religious women ask to cancel list

Jerusalem Post Reporter

EMUNAH, the National Religious Women's Organization, yesterday asked the Central Elections Committee to withdraw its list from the roster of Knesset electoral lists.

Emunah leader Sara Stern-Kutun told Kof Yisrael radio that there were two reasons for the decision. First, many appeals had been re-

ceived from individuals and groups here and abroad urging Emunah not to cause a split in the National Religious Party vote.

Secondly, she said, it was only in the last few days that the organization realized what immense financial expenditure would be required to conduct a campaign.

Rambam gives Rothschild surgery space

HAIFA. - Rambam Hospital yesterday offered to make its operating theatres available in the afternoon to doctors and patients of the troubled Rothschild Hospital. The Jerusalem Post was told.

Rothschild director Dr. Dov Golan said the offer was "very generous" and the feasibility of transferring staff and patients regularly between the hospitals is being examined.

The offer came after the sudden death at Rothschild on Friday of an elderly patient, whose scheduled operation on a fractured hip was postponed because four of the hospital's six operating theatres are closed. The Health Ministry has ordered an inquiry into the incident.

Golan said there is no evidence the patient died as a result of the

delay in surgery. However, he described the situation at the hospital, where the operating theatres have been closed and elective surgery suspended for nearly two weeks, as "grave and very depressing."

"What we have here is a crippled hospital where we cannot give patients the treatment to which they are entitled. The morale of the staff is very low and they cannot understand how the situation has been allowed to reach such a crisis level without any interference at government level."

The crisis has arisen as a result of the dispute between the Health and Finance Ministries over continued funding of the hospital's west wing. Despite the breakdown in vital services, resumption of work on the project seems no nearer.

IRAN AND IRAQ

(Continued from Page One)

No one was injured, but the West German captain's report said damage to the tanker was "quite extensive." However, there was no danger to the ship, Capt. Hans Tischenfeld added.

Perez de Cuellar told a reporter in Beirut that in making his appeal to Iran and Iraq "I reminded them that it was for both of them Ramadan, a special spiritual part of the year in which they could exercise restraint."

According to the Iranian news agency, Irna, the UN chief had asked Iran and Iraq to respond by

today whether they were accepting his appeal to stop the attacks by 0001 GMT tomorrow (3.01 a.m. in Israel).

Irna said President Ali Khamenei had sent a reply to Perez de Cuellar expressing Iran's readiness to stop shelling provided Iraq does the same.

Khamenei said that if Iraq ignored the appeal "the Islamic Republic of Iran reserves the right to embark on retaliatory acts."

Iraq responded promptly to the UN request. The official Iraqi news agency Irna said the Iraqi Foreign Ministry has "received instructions from the (ruling) Revolutionary Command Council to approve the UN Secretary-General's request."

Baghdad radio noted that Iraq has "made several such proposals in the past but Iran has repeatedly rejected them."

Soviets aid Jordan air defence

AMMAN (Reuters). - Jordanian Prime Minister Ahmed Obaidat was quoted yesterday as saying his country would in the next few months complete building its air defence network with the help of the Soviet Union.

"Jordan embarked on building the defence system last year and it will be completed before the end of 1984," he told the London-based Arabic magazine *Al-Majallah* in an interview.

Jordan's estimated 73,000 strong armed forces are trained and equipped mainly by the U.S., but also have Soviet anti-tank guns, British tanks and French fighter jets.

Last March, U.S. President Ronald Reagan dropped plans to sell 1,613 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan after King Hussein bitterly attacked Washington's Middle East policies.

Newspaper articles on Army Day celebrations yesterday said Jordan already had a missile network for air defence at various altitudes as well as modern anti-aircraft guns. It would also be provided with light rockets against low-flying aircraft, they added.

Palestinian leader, Mussa Alami dies

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Mussa Alami, the Palestinian nationalist leader and founder of the Boys' Town farm-school in Jericho, will be buried today in Jerusalem. He died at the age of 87 in Amman on Saturday.

Alami, a Cambridge-educated lawyer, headed the Palestine Bureau before the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. He was the first Palestinian to represent his people at the Constituent Assembly of the Arab League in Alexandria in 1944.

As a legal official of the Mandate, Alami was also involved in the prosecution of the alleged killers of the Labour Zionist leader Haim Arlosoroff in 1933. He became a close acquaintance of David Ben-Gurion in the 1930s, when the latter approached him about the possibility of a Jewish-Arab understanding in Palestine.

In 1949, Alami established Boys' Town, a farm-school for refugee boys on salty flats between Jericho and the Allenby Bridge. The project drew international attention and eventually a book about Alami and the farm, *Palestine is my Country*, was written by Sir Geoffrey Furlong, a former British ambassador to Jordan.

Ben-Gurion persuaded Alami to return to the Jericho farm following the Six Day War. He also set up a vocational school in the Shuafat neighbourhood of Jerusalem.



Mussa Alami, photographed at Lod Airport in 1971. (Newsphoto)

Dahn Ben-Amotz fined for molesting girl, 12

TEL AVIV (Ium). - Writer Dahn Ben-Amotz was given a four-month suspended jail sentence and fined \$50,000 by the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday, after being found guilty of performing indecent acts on a 12-year-old girl in August 1983.

According to the charge sheet, Ben-Amotz invited the child to his home in Jaffa and then sexually abused her hair and legs, tickled and licked her feet and kissed her breasts.

Ben-Amotz admitted stroking her neck and hair, but said that he had behaved in a "fatherly way" to make the child "feel comfortable" in his house.

In handing down the sentence, Judge Yehoshua Ben-Shlomo labelled Ben-Amotz's acts "ugly and worthy of condemnation." But the judge noted that the accused had not used force and that the offences were "relatively light."

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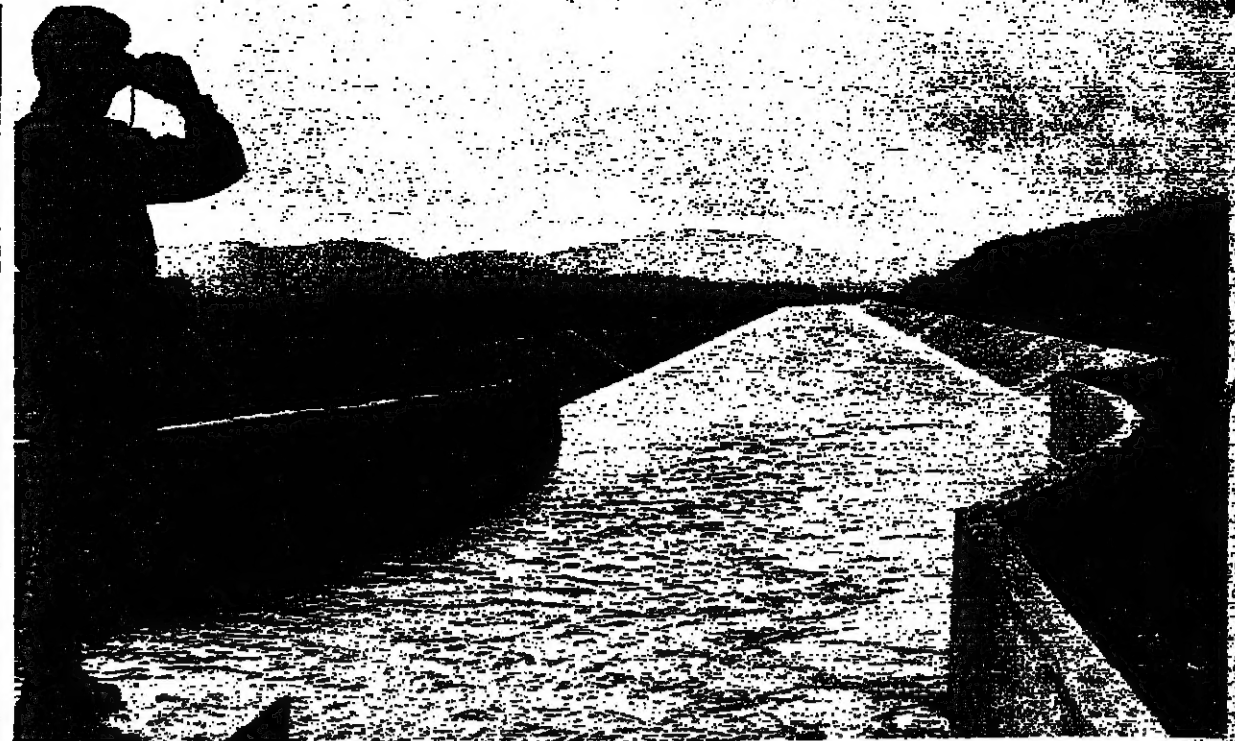
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Architect Professor

JOSEF MOCHLY
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The funeral will take place in Shavei Zion today, Monday, 11 Sivan 5744 (11/6/84) at 5 p.m.

The bereaved:
His wife, Aida
His brother, Leon
His children, Dena, Dafna, Daria, David, Dagan and their families



Mekorot, the national water company, yesterday marked the 20th anniversary of the national water carrier, which was completed on June 10, 1964. Since then, the carrier has brought six billion cubic metres of water from the North to other parts of the country. The annual average supply of water from the carrier is 440 million cubic metres. (Z. Rosenblum)

Hevel Shalom settlers block Rafah terminal

Jerusalem Post Staff

RAFAH. - About 250 residents of Hevel Shalom region, with dozens of tractors, wagons and other vehicles, took up positions at 7:30 yesterday morning at the entrance to the border terminal here, blocking busloads of tourists from crossing into Egypt.

The settlers were demonstrating against what they said was the failure of the Agriculture Ministry, the Finance Ministry and the Jewish Agency to fulfill promises made to them when Hevel Shalom was established two years ago.

The protesters' demands included unfreezing the development of Hevel Shalom; making more fields available for vegetable cultivation; handing over the funds earmarked for Hevel Shalom instead of transferring them to other projects. The settlers charge that much of this money has been going to adjacent Hevel Katif in the Gaza District; and providing more aid for farmers, whose debts are "intolerable" because of high interest rates.

With the road to the terminal blocked to traffic, hundreds of Egypt-bound tourists were forced to brave the blistering heat and carry their luggage about half a kilometre to the terminal on foot.

Policemen on the scene in Rafah said that the Egyptian Embassy in Tel Aviv complained to the Foreign Ministry about the treatment of the tourists.

All the travellers who intended to cross the border at Rafah did so despite the demonstration, border terminal supervisor Dadi Shazar, said.

Some 900 persons crossed in both directions, which is usual for this period, he added.

The demands of the settlers were made known to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir at about 10 a.m., during the weekly cabinet meeting, after telephone contact was established with officials in the Prime Minister's Office.

These phone contacts continued until the demonstration was halted

at 4 p.m., after Shamir set up a meeting, scheduled for tomorrow, among representatives of the settlers and top-level officials from the Finance and Agriculture Ministries and the Jewish Agency.

But the settlers warned that if tomorrow's meeting is not held, they plan to disrupt a conference of top UJA leaders scheduled to be held in Jerusalem later this month.

Naftali Yaniv, spokesman for the Agriculture Ministry, told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, headed by

Ra'anah Weitz, "against our advice planned these moshavim for growing tomatoes," he said. He added that Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper is now putting together a plan for the reorganization of agriculture in the area.

Weitz, however, told *The Post* that he is very proud of his moshavim, and that the fault lies with "the Israeli government, which has so managed things that people make more money on the stock market than in agriculture."

Slain terrorists' kin demand to see full Zorea findings

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The families of three of the terrorists killed during the assault on the Ashkelon bus last April have petitioned the High Court of Justice demanding to see the full findings of the Zorea commission of inquiry, which found that two of the terrorists were beaten to death after their capture.

In a petition presented yesterday by their counsel, advocate Felicia Langer, the families claim that as the next of kin, they are entitled to receive the information relevant to the manner in which their kin died.

"Sushi Baraka," the father of Muhammad Baraka, who was killed during the assault on the bus, is demanding to know "how his son's body was mutilated and by whom."

In an affidavit attached to the petition, Baraka alleges that one of his son's eyes had been gouged out, the other was out of its socket and several of his teeth had been knocked out. Baraka identified his son's body in an ambulance soon after the troops stormed the bus.

Langer argues in her petition, which is directed against the De-

fence Minister, that she has not received a satisfactory answer to her requests for information on behalf of her clients. She argues that this gives the impression that the "partial and terse" reports of the commission's findings were designed to quell criticism in Israel and improve Israel's image abroad.

A senior Justice Ministry official has been appointed to head the investigation into the killing of the two prisoners, in line with the recommendations of the commission that had been set up by the Defence Ministry and headed by Aluf (Res.) Meir Zorea.

Remanded on suspicion

TEL AVIV (Ium). - A local woman was remanded for six days by the Tel Aviv magistrate's court on suspicion of having aided the suspected leader of the so-called Lifa gang, who are accused of planning to blow up the Temple Mount mosques.

The woman, Tamar Yosef, is suspected of having given aid and shelter to Shimon Barak, whom the police are seeking.

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of

FANYA SLUTSKY 57

née Rozansky

(at the age of 86)

The funeral will take place today, June 11, 1984 at 12.30 p.m. at the Kfar Samir cemetery, Haifa.

The Bereaved Family

Her children - Avigdor and Rachel Slutsky

Her grandchildren - Dorit, Ruth and Shai Pedeh

Her great-grandchildren and all the family

In memory of

HARRIET GORDON GODDARD

A righteous Christian who lived to do good deeds for humanity. Memorial service, June 12, 1984 at 2 p.m. at the home of Dov and Janet Silverman and Malka Rabinowitz, 2 Kaf St., Safad, Tel. 067-70069.

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and Department of Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Studies

express their deep regret at the untimely passing of

Professor MOSHE HELD

Distinguished scholar of Semitic languages of Columbia University New York City, and guest scholar at Ben-Gurion University

May his memory be a blessing

The unveiling of the tombstone of

HENRY (Tzvi) PERLMAN

will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, June 12, 1984 at 8 a.m., at the old cemetery, Ra'anana

The Bereaved Family

Histadrut angry over Orgad's accusations

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Histadrut leaders have reacted angrily to Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad's charges on Friday that the Histadrut is to blame for the country's high rate of inflation, and that the labour federation is "holding the country to ransom with its unrealistic demands."

Hevrat Ha'ovdim secretary Danny Rosolio rejected Cohen-Orgad's charges, saying that the finance minister himself is responsible for the state of the economy. Rosolio was addressing a meeting of Military Industries workers on Saturday.

Rosolio revealed that in the week after Cohen-Orgad took over as finance minister, late in mid-October, Histadrut leaders met with him at their own initiative. It was decided then that the two sides would cooperate to stimulate economic expansion and full employment and to solve various problems, Rosolio said.

It was decided at a subsequent meeting to set up three committees including representatives of the government, the Histadrut and the em-

ployers. Despite the urgency of the matter, Rosolio said, the letters of appointment reached the committee members only in mid-January, and the Treasury has yet to call a meeting of the committee dealing with economic expansion.

"In the light of that, it is difficult to understand how the finance minister dares to pin the blame for not helping to solve the problems of the economy on the Histadrut," Rosolio said. "The fact is that the Histadrut's initiative for cooperation was not reciprocated."

Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar also attacked Cohen-Orgad yesterday. "How can we deal seriously with a minister who acknowledges that wages have been eroded and then continues to blame the Histadrut for 400 per cent inflation?" Kessar asked rhetorically at a meeting with reporters.

Kessar stressed that the Histadrut is willing to make compromises, if the government is willing to "negotiate seriously" for new work agreements. So far, he said, the government has not demonstrated such a willingness.

Inquiry to check report that Sharir hindered police case

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir has agreed to a police request to investigate allegations that Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir intervened in a police investigation. Zamir appointed his deputy, Yehudit Karp, to head the inquiry, which the police hope will lead to prosecution for criminal libel.

The allegations published in a recent series of articles in *Ma'ariv*, were that police Inspector-General Arye Ivizan, criminal investigations head Yehzekel Carthy and several other high-ranking officers received

lower-ranking officers from a case involving Sharir, because they receive benefits from a West German-financed fund linked to Sharir's faction of the Liberal Party. The allegations were denied by everybody named in the articles, which were ignored by other newspapers.

Ivizan at first appointed a special internal inquiry, including officers not named in the series, to investigate the allegations. The internal inquiry resulted in a report that dubbed the newspaper's allegations "completely untrue."

Currency buying eased for pilgrims to Mecca

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israeli citizens making a religious pilgrimage to Mecca will be permitted to buy foreign currency in local banks on presentation of exit permits issued by the Interior Ministry, under an agreement reached by the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs and the Bank of Israel.

The new arrangement follows

complaints by Israeli Moslems that currency restrictions were forcing them to buy foreign currency on the black market at a high rate of exchange. Previous regulations required Israeli citizens to present a plane ticket when buying foreign currency. The exit permits will now suffice, since they are the sole travel document used when crossing the Allenby Bridge to Jordan.

Nurses will declare work dispute today

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Nurses Union will declare a work dispute this morning, Moriah Galili, national secretary, said yesterday.

"She said the action is being taken because of the employers' intransigence in the wage negotiations."

The nurses are seeking an increment similar to that paid recently to other public-sector workers and the signing of a wage contract for 1984-86, she said.

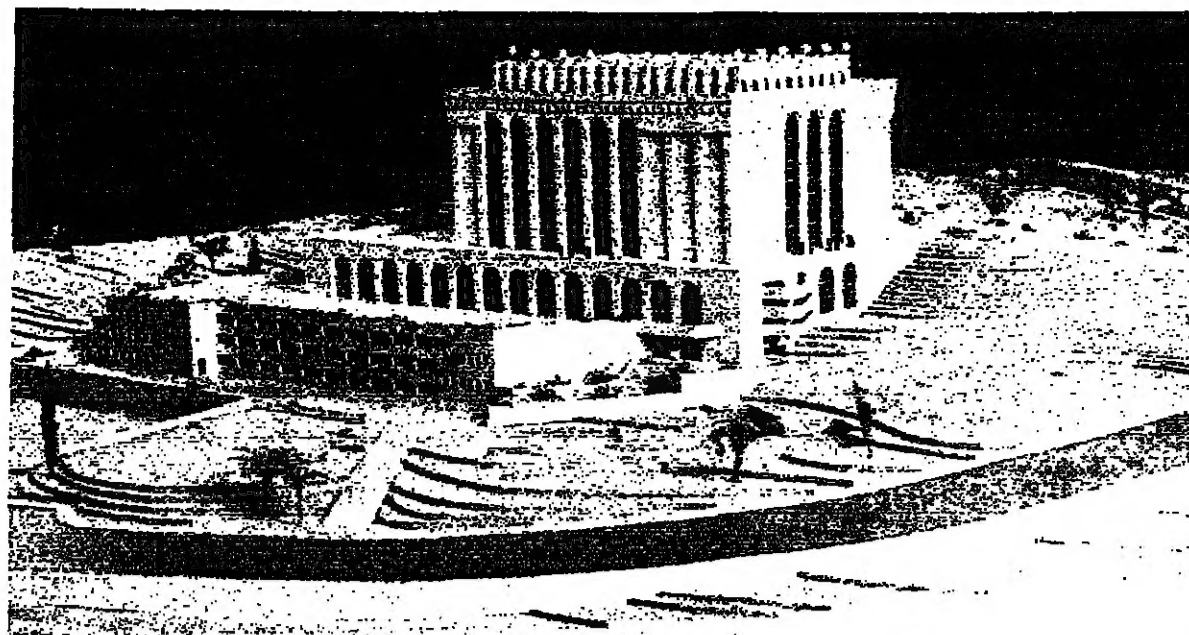
'Nechim Beach' closed until pollution threat removed

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Health Ministry yesterday ordered the "Nechim Beach" near Herzliya closed to swimmers until tests of pollutants in the area are completed.

During a recent fire at a nearby factory, chemicals and other pollutants flowed into the sea near the beach, causing a health hazard.

CENTRES — Wizo community centres were opened yesterday at Meholia in the Jordan Valley and at Vered Yericho.



A model of the Belz world centre, to be built in northern Jerusalem. The cornerstone of the centre's synagogue, which the Belz Hassidim say will be the world's largest, was laid yesterday.

Belzer rebbe lays cornerstone of synagogue

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

In festive dress, thousands of Belz Hassidim from around the world yesterday watched their 36-year-old rebbe, Rabbi Issachar Dov Roke'ah, wield a trowel in a cornerstone-laying ceremony for a synagogue-beit midrash they expect the Messiah will visit on his way to the rebuilt Temple.

The ceremony was held in Kiryat Belz in northern Jerusalem where 500 Belz Hassidim will live around the synagogue in a modern version of the Galician *shetl* in which the Belz Hassidic dynasty was founded 170 years ago.

Five thousand Hassidim arrived last week from the U.S., Europe and Australia. Living here are 10,000 Belz Hassidic families.

The structure, which the Belz Hassidim say will be the largest synagogue in the world, will accommodate up to 4,500 worshippers. Completion target date is 1987, in good time for the Bar-Mitzva of the rebbe's only child and heir, eight-year-old Aharon Mordechai. The \$12 million cost is being covered by gifts from Belz supporters abroad.

Construction of the Belz Great Synagogue is a milestone in the revival of a Hassidic house almost wiped out in the Holocaust. One of the few survivors was the then rebbe, Aharon Roke'ah, uncle of the present rebbe.

Agrippas Street, where the present synagogue-beit midrash is situated, was sealed off with police cooperation during Shavuot and Sabbath to accommodate the over-

flow of worshippers. Wooden galleries were built on the roof of an administrative wing facing the windows of the synagogue to hold several hundred of the foreign visitors during prayers.

A lavish reception was held on Thursday night in the Jerusalem Hilton for contributors to the synagogue and local journalists and officials, many of them secular. A greeting was read from President Reagan. (Another from Democratic presidential hopeful Walter Mondale was read at yesterday's ceremony.)

The *rebbe's* Sara Roke'ah, held a dinner on Saturday night for the wives of visiting Hassidim and local Belz women. There was good fellowship, reported a Belz spokesman, but no singing or dancing for the ladies.

U.S. political-action group formed

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A political-action committee to help candidates for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives who support Israel has been formed by a group of American olim, most of whom have dual U.S.-Israel citizenship.

The chairman of the Americans in Israel Political Action Committee (Amipac), Jerusalem advocate Newton Frohlich, said it was organized in accordance with U.S. federal election laws, and has 30 members.

He said Amipac's purpose is to "assist candidates for office who

come to Israel seeking information about conditions here, and who may find it valuable to talk to Americans with whom they share a common language and background, in addition to talks with government officials."

Background information on visiting candidates, many of whom are expected in the months ahead, will be supplied by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (Aipac), the Israel lobby in Washington.

Amipac's first public meeting is to take place Thursday evening in Jerusalem.

Four scholars receive Rothschild Prizes

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The upsurge of a "primitive form of barbarism" among "so-called observant Jews" has taken the humanity out of Judaism, Hebrew University Emeritus Ephraim Urbach said yesterday.

Urbach, president of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, was responding on behalf of himself and three other recipients of the Rothschild Prize, which was awarded on behalf of the Rothschild Foundation by Jacob de Rothschild. The ceremony was held at the Knesset.

Rothschild Prizes are awarded every two years. Urbach received his recognition for his work in Judaic studies. The other recipients were Prof. Yakir Aharonov of Tel Aviv University, physics; Professor Meir Wilchek of the Weizmann Institute, chemistry; and archeology Prof. Nahman Avigad of the Hebrew University, social sciences.

Bus fares to rise

TEL AVIV. — Bus fares on urban and suburban lines will go up by an average of 8 per cent next Sunday, June 17, Egged announced yesterday.

An intra-urban ride will cost IS40, instead of today's IS35.

JUBILEE — The Benjamin Rothschild Agriculture High School, Pardess Hanna, is celebrating its 50th anniversary this week.

Porush attack to be probed 'as matter of public interest'

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jerusalem police are investigating the recent attack on Knesset Member Menahem Porush as "a matter of public interest."

Porush was discharged from Bikur Holim Hospital yesterday after being hospitalized since Saturday, June 2, when he was beaten up in the synagogue of his Central Hotel. The attack was carried out allegedly by students of the Gur yeshiva.

A ranking police source in the capital yesterday termed "ridiculous" Interior Minister Yosef Burg's recent statement that without a complaint the police could not investigate the assault.

"It's a matter of public interest when a politician is assaulted, and therefore we have to investigate," said the source. The inquiry is "not easy," because few eyewitnesses to

the attack are prepared to give any statements, the source added. One eyewitness to the attack on Porush told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that "the reason the Porush family isn't supposed to give any evidence in the case is because Meir Porush (the MK's son and Jerusalem municipal councillor) may have actually been responsible for his father's injuries."

The eyewitness said that when the alleged assailants burst into the hotel shouting, "You want a (Knesset) seat? We'll give you a seat," throwing chairs at Porush. The 29-year-old son went to his father's defence.

He picked up an armchair and tried to throw it back at the attackers, but his father was in the way and it knocked him down," said the eyewitness, who also said he too had refused to give the police any information.

Breast-cancer symposium opens today in Jerusalem

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Mortality from breast cancer is 30 per cent in Israel, compared to 30 per cent in the U.S., and the difference is entirely due to Israeli women's reluctance to examine their own breasts or have them examined by a doctor, Professor Ronny Rozine of Hadassah-Balfour Hospital in Tel Aviv told a news conference here yesterday.

The press conference previewed an international symposium on breast surgery which opens today in Jerusalem. Prof. Peter Pressman, a New York surgeon in Israel for the symposium, noted that early detection increases the options for treatment of breast cancer.

Prof. Hagai Tzur, of Haim Sheba

Medical Centre and chairman of the symposium's organizing committee, said that in some cases it is possible to remove only part of the breast tissue, leaving the basic shape of the breast intact. It is too early to know whether this is as effective as a full mastectomy, he said.

Up to 30 per cent of Israeli women who have mastectomies have breast reconstruction. Prof. Michael Sheflin, another of the conference organizers, said, He said that breast reconstruction does not prevent the diagnosis of recurrent tumours. "If it does anything, it improves the quality of the woman's life."

Tzur said about a hundred guests are expected from abroad and about the same number of Israelis will take part.

Special education victim of budget cut

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The extra month of school enjoyed by over 50,000 retarded and some handicapped pupils in the Special Education system has been cancelled this year due to budget cuts, Professor Shimon Sacks, head of the Education Ministry's Special Education department, said yesterday.

Sacks' announcement came in answer to a question from the floor at a discussion on special education, organized by the Jerusalem Parents' Committee for Special Education. "This was the first announcement we've had," said Noga Yaffe, a committee member, though she added that two weeks ago special-education principals told her that they had not received the usual instructions from the ministry on the conduct of the July classes.

"We knew it was being held up at the Treasury but we didn't dream that it would be cut,"

Gidon Drori, another parent, said

that children in the special-education programme can't be kept home for 60 days, both for the good of the child and the family. Nor can they be integrated into summer camps for other children.

It is now too late to develop an alternative programme.

27 finish course for old-age-home directors

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Twenty-seven persons will be graduated today from the country's first course for directors of homes for the aged and for the chronically ill at Haifa University. A second two-year course has been started and a third will open next year.

The Social Affairs Ministry plans to make the training course mandatory for all directors of homes for the aged.

A MEETING OF SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE "OMETZ" MOVEMENT

WILL TAKE PLACE ON 13/6/84 at 6 P.M.
AT BEIT SOKOLOV
4 KAPLAN STREET, TEL-AVIV

PLEASE NOTE:
THE NEW PHONE NUMBERS
AT THE "OMETZ" MOVEMENT
HEADQUARTERS ARE:

662358/9
662360/1

AT THE SHALOM TOWER
(MIGDAL SHALOM)
9 AHAD HA'AM STREET
P.O. Box 29086 TEL-AVIV

GIVE THE
MINISTRY
OF FINANCE
TO YIGAL
HORWITZ

OMETZ — THE MOVEMENT FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY



ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION
Jerusalem District
OFFER OF LEASE ON PLOT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF
24 HOUSING UNITS — YOD-ALEF QUARTER, ASHDOD — TENDER 24/84/JM
Bids are invited from those interested in signing a development agreement, in respect of a plot, the details of which at the time of publishing the tender are as follows:

Urban Building	Plot No.	Approx. Area	Total Building Percentage on 4 Floors	Minimum Price	Deposit
Plan No.					
7/592/Zayin	397	2,647 sq.m.	120	IS\$5,752,284	IS1,500,000

The urban building plan allows a building percentage of 30 per floor and four floors are permitted — pillars storey. Number of housing units 24 — 25 % for the building of balconies only.

Sample agreements and bid forms are available at the Jerusalem district offices of the Administration, 34 Ben Yehuda, Tel. 224121, during regular working hours.

Last date for submitting bids: July 4, 1984 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

No undertaking is given to accept the highest or any bid.

Israel Lands Administration
Northern District

Tiberias Municipality

Arin, Municipal Development Co. Ltd.

BUILD YOUR HOUSE IN TIBERIAS — STAGE GIMMEL REMAINING PLOTS

A few plots are still available from the above scheme. These plots will be allocated to the public on the basis of updated values for the land and development costs. Other conditions are as given in the originally published scheme, subject to this present notice.

These plots will be allocated from 10 a.m. on Sunday, June 17, 1984, on a first come, first served basis. At that time, a draw will be held among those present.

Registration will be at the offices of Arin, 16/100 Rehov Atzmon, Tiberias. When registering, you must deposit a banker's cheque for IS\$50,000, made out to the Israel Lands Administration, which will be regarded as an advance on the cost of the land.

Further details are available at the above offices of Arin.

This notice valid until September 16, 1984.

Israel Lands Administration
Jerusalem District

Kiryat Gat Municipality

Arin, Municipal Development Co. Ltd.

OWNER-OCCUPIER CONSTRUCTION IN KIRYAT GAT SHECHUNA MAARAVIT — STAGE A

In cooperation with Kiryat Gat Municipality and the Arin Company, the Israel Lands Administration announces an additional round of registration for the above scheme, under which 101 plots will be allocated for the construction of one- and two-family houses.

Registration will be at the Municipality's information bureau (Kikar Pazi) during regular working hours. Registration will open at 9 a.m. on Tuesday, June 12, and close at 11 a.m. on Friday, June 29, 1984.

Additional information is available at the information bureau.

Israel Lands Administration
Jerusalem District

Kiryat Malachi Local Council

Arin, Municipal Development Co. Ltd.

Ministry of Construction and Housing

BUILD YOUR HOUSE IN KIRYAT MALACHI SHECHUNA TZAFONIT — STAGE B

In cooperation with Kiryat Malachi Local Council and the Ministry of Construction and Housing, the Israel Lands Administration announces an additional round of registration for the above scheme, under which 29 plots will be allocated for the construction of one- and two-family houses.

Registration will be at the offices of the local council during regular working hours. Registration will open at 9 a.m. on Tuesday, June 12, and close at 12 noon on Friday, June 29, 1984.

Additional particulars and a detailed prospectus are available at the local council offices.

SHOPPIN' N' EATIN' IN JERUSALEM

HA'ADAMA — THE HEALTH FOOD PEOPLE

HA'ADAMA, winner of numerous awards for service and popularity, have what must be the largest selection of health foods in town. Luscious fresh PAPAYAS (full of delightful digestive enzymes), health breads, Hain oils and dressings. Evening Primrose Oil, natural cosmetics. Spirulina, dried fruits and nuts, mung, alfalfa, apple cider and loads more. Wheat germ and bran (bulk purchased — cheaper for you) at HA'ADAMA, 4 BEZALEL ST. (opposite Bezalel Art School) Convenient hours — continuously 7 a.m.-6 p.m., Friday 7-1 p.m. 02-246609.

HISTORY FOR SALE — AT CHARLOTTE

Her range is extraordinary, from artifacts thousands of years old — ancient jewelry from Nebuchadnezzar's time, Lounstian bronze bracelets, pottery 2000 years old — until creations of contemporary Israeli artists. Yemenite and ethnic silver jewelry, glass, ceramics, oriental embroidery, copper and brass — every single item selected for you with taste, quality and originality in mind. Come and look around — you'll be astonished at the reasonable prices. Listed by the Israel Government — recommended by the Israeli for more than fifty years. CHARLOTTE, 4 KORESH ST. (behind the main post office) 9-1, 4-7, Friday 9-2.

NORMAN'S COOKIN'

Do you remember what a GREAT burger REALLY tastes like? Norman's burgers are the talk of the town with those delicious homemade sauces. There's plenty of pasta, vegetarian specialties and super salads too! Sizzling sirloin steaks and lamb chops are a must. Great American food in an authentic Jerusalem atmosphere. Ideal place to meet and eat — and you know Norman, always ready to make you feel at home. AIR CONDITIONED. Open Monday thru Thursday from noon till 11:30 p.m. Friday lunch till 3 p.m., after Shabbat till midnight and Sunday evening dinner. KOSHER under Rabbinical supervision. 9 YOEL SALOMON ST. off Zion Square. TAKE AWAYS. Tel. 227444.

hot corned beef on rye

Hot Corned Beef on Rye right here in Jerusalem! The mouthwatering that made America famous. You may know it better as salt beef or pickled brisket, but the juicy succulent "sandwich supreme" is best known by good taste alone. Dig your chopsticks into a big one at DELI NEPI, 18 Rehov Shammai by Zion Square. Tel. 223746. Kosher. Delicious. Take Away.

MAMMA LEONE MAKES YOU AN OFFA YOU CANNA REFUSE

First class Italian food. Pizza, Antipasta, Minestrone, Pasta Ripiena (Ravioli, Gnocchi, Lasagne), home-made Pasta Asciutta, excellent desserts and selected wines have made MAMMA LEONE the capital's popular Italian eating place. Best of all are the competitive prices. Kosher. Credit cards accepted. Seating on the patio, in the shade or under the stars. MAMMA LEONE, 5 Hillel St. (almost opposite EL AL). Open noon till midnight. Friday till 2:30 p.m. Saturday after Shabbat. Tel. 242767.

HAMBURGER HEAVEN

It's the meat that made BUNNY famous. A quarter pound of pure chopped meat, cooked as you request, with your favourite sauce. Kosher under Rabbinical supervision. Plus a mouth-watering serve yourself salad bar with great dressings and homemade soups, real American hot dogs, baked potatoes, prairie chips, and more. Half price menu for kids. BUNNY BURGER (they keep coming back for more), 1 AGRON, near Plaza and Kings Hotels. NOTE NEW HOURS: Sun-Thurs., noon till 9 p.m., Friday till 2 p.m. Takeaways at your service. See ya!

CLASSIC LEATHER MADE TO MEASURE WITHIN 48 HOURS

One of the most exciting additions to the collection of glamorous shops in the Cardo of the Old City of Jerusalem is the new branch of DANAYA leather goods. Famous for fifteen years for high fashion, superb quality leather garments, sheepskin and fur, DANAYA has introduced a unique new feature. It is now possible to order custom made leather garments for every size, specification and taste and have them ready within 48 hours. As for our prices, we have a range to suit every pocket. Too good to be true? Be sure to visit us when you're next in the Cardo and see for yourself. DANAYA, Duty Free Shops — also at Mercat Sapir, Givat Shaul, J'lem (factory) 02-520251. Tel. Aviv, Allenby 60 (2nd Floor) 03-657627 DANAYA.

FLY/DRIVE IN EUROPE

Fly/Drive from \$399 (min. 2 passengers) including RT flight to Europe and one week's car. One way flight to Europe from \$175. Want to visit the Big Apple? Tel Aviv-New York return, just \$539 till 21/6 and only \$599 for the rest of the summer. Great Russia and China tours this autumn; plus dozens of other destinations. Come on in for details, and remember — if you get a lower price elsewhere, we'll match it. ZIONTOURS, 23 HILLEL ST. (next to Shama! Post Office) Tel. 02-233326/7/8. Open every day from 8:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. Wed. and Fri. till 1 p.m.

GREEN DAYS IN ENGLAND

Green Days in England: a horticultural tour of England's finest gardens. Israel's No. 1 gardening expert Walter Frankl will lead this 11 day (June 24-July 4) tour of world-famous gardens such as Leeds Castle, Kew Gardens, Hampton Court, Stratford upon Avon and more — plus Britain's first International Garden Festival in Liverpool AND 3 tours of London and environs. A tremendous package, all for only \$899. For further details call ZIONTOURS JERUSALEM, 02-233326/7/8, or drop by at 23 Hillel St., Jerusalem. Open every day from 8:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. Wed. and Fri. till 1 p.m.

HAVING AN AFFAIR THEN TELL US ABOUT IT...

Celebrate "à la Jerusalem"! What could be more memorable than an affair at the splendid LAROMME HOTEL. Weddings, barmitzvahs, reunions, birthdays, family and alumni gatherings or any event of from ten to five hundred. Conveniently situated (walking distance to the Kotel), Laromme professionals will prepare a lavish cocktail, brunch, lunch, dinner or supper party — buffet or sit-down. Besides the elegant banquet hall they've a unique patio (just ideal for the chuppah!). Want to know more? At no obligation the helpful banquet manager will discuss with you the alternatives, menus, facilities and costs. Just call THE LAROMME HOTEL, 02-663161 extension 4275.

THE PLATE THE THING

Front and centre in Jerusalem's eating out scene is BACKSTAGE, the delightful new dairy restaurant at the Jerusalem Theatre. Why all the applause? BACKSTAGE is one of the capital's finest spots for an elegant evening with friends, and it's not expensive. The star of the show is the food itself: fresh ingredients (nothing tinned) served attentively, a menu of homemade wholesomeness: inviting platters and salads, delicious soups, individual quiches, fresh fish, cakes and pastries galore, sandwiches and milkshakes, wines and spirits. For an intimate tete-a-tete at lunch or dinner, for a family celebration or even receptions up to 150. BACKSTAGE at the JERUSALEM THEATRE is the hit of the season. Open 11 a.m. till after midnight. Kosher. Le'Mehadrin. Tel. 669351.

DON'T WASTE PRECIOUS NATURAL RESOURCES SAVE WATER

WORLD NEWS

Golden Temple death toll passes 700

NEW DELHI. — Fighting between security forces and Sikh extremists near Amritsar's golden temple continued yesterday, four days after the storming of the shrine in which more than 700 persons are now believed to have died, informed police sources said.

The sources, who have visited the shrine since troops flushed out Sikh gunmen in bitter hand-to-hand combat last Wednesday, said more bodies had been found under the rubble, taking the toll more than 200 higher than the 500 dead they had earlier estimated.

An eminent Sikh writer charged yesterday that more than 1,000 Sikhs, including women and children, were killed in the siege of the golden temple. Khushwant Singh, editor of *The Hindustan Times* and winner of India's highest national honour for literature, told the Associated Press that he has received the information from an official visitor to the temple.

Police sources said sporadic sniper fire continued in the temple area and troops were conducting a house-to-house sweep.

A government spokesman told a news conference he had no final death toll. The latest official figure

was given on Saturday by the officer who led the assault. Major-General R. S. Brar, who told state television that 55 soldiers and up to 400 Sikhs had been killed.

At least 20 persons, including 11 members of the security forces, were killed in fresh outbreaks of violence on Saturday night in troubled Punjab state, the Press Trust of India (PTI) reported yesterday.

The news agency said about 100 suspects were arrested and weapons were seized as troops stepped up a hunt for troublemakers, in a bid to prevent violent reaction to the army assault on the golden temple.

The latest casualties, included eight security forces personnel killed during operations at Tarn Taran near Amritsar, the holy Sikh city about 230km. northwest of Punjab's state capital of Chandigarh.

General Brar said there was a definite indication of foreign involvement in the Sikh crisis. Two Pakistanis were among the extremists killed inside the golden temple complex.

He said some of the large quantities of weapons found after the battle had Chinese and Pakistani markings and had been smuggled from Pakistan.

Pakistani passports were also among documents seized after the assault, he said.

Curfews were eased for several hours in several Punjab towns yesterday.

Pakistan yesterday denied involvement in Sikh violence, and asked New Delhi not to poison the atmosphere between the two countries.

Islamabad strictly adhered to non-interference in other states' internal affairs and Brar's allegations "appear designed to externalize and divert attention from an internal crisis," the statement said.

In another development, Amarinder Singh, a member of the ruling Congress Party and a close confidant of the president, yesterday resigned his seat in parliament and from the party in protest over the assault on the temple, PTI said.

Singh, a Sikh, said he was deeply anguished over the action and had opposed the entry of security forces into places of worship.

"I shall now endeavour to work to bring about normalcy in the state and also to re-establish cordial relations between Sikhs and Hindus," Singh was quoted by PTI as saying. (Reuters, AP)

U.S. warns Soviets against harassment of journalists

MOSCOW (Reuters). — U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman has warned the Soviet authorities of retaliation over recent cases of alleged harassment of American journalists and diplomats, a diplomatic source said here.

The source, a senior Western diplomat who asked not to be identified, was speaking after a Moscow court on Friday ruled that two U.S. news agency reporters had helped a Soviet citizen with a plan to defect.

Last month a U.S. consular official was assaulted by unidentified men in a Leningrad street.

The embassy yesterday issued a statement criticizing Soviet action regarding the two reporters and voicing concern that it was intended to intimidate other Western correspondents in Moscow.

The Soviet foreign ministry had notified the U.S. Embassy that Marc

Rosenwasser, an American former AP reporter, and Briton Alison Smale, currently AP correspondent here, had engaged in activities "outside the framework of journalism," the official news agency Tass reported.

The two journalists were alleged to have abetted would-be defector Alexander Rukosuev. Details of the court action against Rukosuev were not available.

The embassy said, "We have discussed this case with Ms. Smale over the past few months, and we are fully convinced she was in no way involved in any criminal activity or plans. In fact she has stated this fully and freely to the Soviet authorities."

Rosenwasser left the Soviet Union in December 1982. Smale was questioned several times in recent months by KGB security police.

\$30m. satellite tumbling in space

CAPE CANAVERAL, Florida (AP). — A communications satellite launched for the 168-nation International Telecommunications Satellite Organization tumbled out of control over the Atlantic Ocean Saturday night after it was launched by a new model of Nasa's Atlas-Centaur rocket.

The missile lifted off right on schedule and everything went well for 23 minutes when suddenly the Centaur upper stage went out of control. The launch control centre reported the Centaur and the attached satellite were tumbling.

Nasa did not immediately know what caused the malfunction.

The Itso paid the National Aeronautics and Space Administration \$60 million to launch the satellite, which was worth \$30 million. With 12,000 voice channels and two colour television channels, it was to have joined 15 other satellites currently serving the organization.

Labour strife grounds most Italian flights

ROME (Reuters). — Most domestic and international flights to and from Milan and Rome were cancelled or postponed yesterday because of strikes by airline ground staff.

Union officials said the stoppages, called to support claims for better pay and conditions, were to last until midnight last night.

Painter Camus dies

MONS, Belgium (AP). — Gustave Camus, one of the best-known Belgian painters, died here Friday at age 70, his family reported.

Camus's seascapes toured the world and hang in homes of private collectors, the Imperial Palace in Tokyo and the Teheran Museum.

RECOVERY — Scientists from nine countries yesterday began a six-day symposium at the Weizmann Institute on processes of recovery from neural trauma.

South African police arrest Swapo leaders at barbecue

WINDHOEK, Namibia (Reuters). — The Namibian police have rounded up top political allies of the Swapo guerrilla group fighting South African rule.

They raided a barbecue on the grounds of a Roman Catholic church near Windhoek Saturday and arrested 37 persons, including Nathaniel Maxuili, acting president of the Swapo political wing, which operates openly within Namibia (South West Africa).

The roundup marked an apparent reversal of South Africa's recent but so far unfruitful peace moves towards Swapo (the South West Africa People's Organization).

Until last month Maxuili's movements were severely restricted by the South African authorities, who rule Namibia in defiance of UN resolutions.

While Swapo's military wing, the

People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), is fighting South African forces in the north of the country, its political arm operates legally under the constant surveillance of the South African authorities.

Security police chief Colonel Sarel Strydom said those arrested had been detained under Proclamation AG-9, which allows for lengthy periods in detention without trial.

The barbecue was being held to celebrate the release last month of 54 Swapo members, most of whom were captured in 1978 during a South African raid into Angola, from the Mariental detention camp in southern Namibia.

South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha, who is scheduled to meet with Pope John Paul II today, arrived in Rome yesterday for the last stop of his eight-nation European tour.

Western leaders united on economic goals

LONDON. — Western leaders left here yesterday confident that their three-day summit had produced a broadly unified stand on key issues of economic recovery and East-West relations.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan said shortly before his departure that the seven summit countries had shown a resolve that proved "Soviet propaganda and attempts at intimidation" had failed.

"I am leaving London with renewed confidence that the future belongs to the free," Reagan said.

But in Moscow the official Soviet press said differences between the U.S. and its partners had made a failure of the seven-nation economic summit in London.

Tass news agency wrote: "Washington...sought to subordinate the partners to its aggressive militarist policy and to create a semblance of 'political unity' in the West."

Arkady Maslennikov, a commentator for the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda*, said the summit

showed the West's inability to work out a common approach to problems.

From their three days of talks the leaders of the U.S., Britain, Canada, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy and Japan produced declarations on the world economy and democratic values and issued statements on the Gulf war, East-West relations and international terrorism.

The summit host, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, said that the seven had addressed the major problems confronting the world and had reaffirmed their basic economic strategy.

All the foreign leaders, except for Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, left London yesterday. Nakasone is staying on for bilateral talks with the British today.

French President Francois Mitterrand, who has often questioned the value of the annual summits, said before leaving that he felt the series was "back on the right track."

The leaders said the main battle

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Sports

Lendl wins cliffhanger

PARIS (AP). — Czechoslovakia's Ivan Lendl finally captured his first Grand Slam title, fighting back from two sets down to defeat top-seeded John McEnroe 3-6, 2-6, 6-4, 7-5, 7-5 yesterday, thus winning the men's singles at the French Open Tennis Championships. One of the tensest and most dramatic matches ever played in Paris lasted four hours and ten minutes.

The result was a triumph for Lendl's grit. At the end of the first two sets, it seemed that the American superstar would win with ease. His confidence soaring, he broke Lendl's service several times in those sets, and Lendl seemed unable to cope with strong serves, down-the-line passing shots and inaccurate drop shots.

Lendl held serve to begin the third set, the first time in the match he held the lead. Then, after McEnroe served another love game — his third of the match — McEnroe jumped out to a 0-30 advantage. But he was apparently distracted by a television cameraman, and Lendl won the next four points to hold serve.

After the fourth point of the game, McEnroe went to the stands and spoke into the camera man's microphone.

In the fifth game, Lendl again fell behind, this time 0-40, on his own serve. But he fought back to knot the game, survived a fourth game point and three doubles, before finally holding to take a 3-2 lead.

Lendl broke his opponent in the 10th game, returning McEnroe's serve brilliantly, thus taking the set.

After his sloppy third set, McEnroe came back to the fourth set by breaking Lendl's hold serve, and evened the match by breaking Lendl in the 12th game, the first point coming on a perfectly executed forehand lob that caught McEnroe at the net. McEnroe and Lendl with complete, intense and dramatic.

Torpid summer soccer

By PAUL KOHN
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The torpidity of a hot summer afternoon clearly affected the footballers of both Wales and Israel who played to a weary 0-0 draw at Ramat Gan yesterday afternoon.

The 5,000 spectators, mostly youth, who turned out for the friendly international saw a game that had the stamp of being the last match of a long season. Territorially, the Welsh had the better of the game but Bonnie Ginsburg in the Israel goal made his only mistakes late in the game, because the sun got in his eyes.

At the other goal, Neville Southall, was not troubled even once, as the Welsh backline held off Israel's attack, which was easily cleared by the red-shirted defenders.

Wales badly missing Ian Rush, lacked sting in their attack.

Football fans' attention will now be turned to the European championships in France, which start tomorrow with a match between France and Denmark, although no team from Israel or Britain is participating. Portugal beat Luxembourg 2-1 in a friendly yesterday.

Moshe Sinai, 22, of Hapoel Tel Aviv, has been invited by Ron Atkinson, manager of Manchester United, to try out for United. Sinai will go to Manchester for trials at the end of July. Atkinson said he had been watching Sinai for a long time, but added that the price would have to be right.

Sydney marathon

SYDNEY (Reuters). — Veteran American Jon Anderson won the Australian marathon through the streets of Sydney yesterday, beating about 3,700 runners in a time of two hours 13 minutes and 18 seconds.

Ngaire Drake of New Zealand was the first woman home in 2:41:25, while Peter Trotter of Australia was the first wheelchair athlete to finish.

Nicaraguan leader: Shultz visit 'a desperate act'

MANAGUA, Nicaragua (AP). — Leftist junta leader Daniel Ortega said Saturday night that this month's visit by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was a "propagandistic" and "desperate act" of the Reagan administration.

The June 1 visit "had a propagandistic intent" and "was a desperate act by the Reagan administration to gain sympathy with the Congress," Ortega told reporters in a press conference here.

Shultz made a surprise stopover in Managua on the way back to Washington after attending the inauguration in El Salvador of President Jose Napoleon Duarte.

He met with Ortega and the two men announced their countries — which have bitter differences over Central American policy — would hold further meetings.

Reagan administration sources said the visit was a conciliatory move; they did not say, however, if there had been substantive changes in U.S. policy towards Nicaragua.

Ortega said Saturday that relations between Nicaragua and the U.S. "continued to be bad" but that "hope must not be lost."

Also on Saturday in Managua, a member of Nicaragua's ruling junta said after meeting Contadora foreign ministers that their peace proposals impressed him, but he objected to interference in the "internal affairs" of Central American countries.

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Zhu's great jump

EBERSTADT, West Germany (Reuters). — Zhu Jianhua of China broke his own world high jump record by clearing 2.39m. In an international high jump competition here yesterday. He improved his previous record, set up in September last year, by one cm.

In San Jose, Earl Bell set an American record of 5.90m. In the pole vault, John Pownall set a 1984 world best of 71.26m. In the discus at the Athletics Congress National Track and Field Championships yesterday.

In the women's events, Valerie Bruest-Hooks became the first American ever to run 400m. in less than 50 seconds, clocking 49.83. Judi Brown won the 400m. hurdles in 24.99 seconds, another American record.

In Warsaw, Marlon Womack of Poland set a European record of 9.99 seconds for the men's 100m. event at an international athletics event. Womack's mark broke the previous European mark of 10.01 seconds set by Pietro Mennea of Italy in 1981 City in September, 1979.

Baseball: Saturday

American League
Cleveland 4, Seattle 7; Boston 15, Milwaukee 6; Baltimore 4, Detroit 6; Chicago 6, Minnesota 4; New York 2, Toronto 1; Texas 4, Oakland 5; 12 innings; California 4, Kansas City 1.

National League
Los Angeles 4, Atlanta 3; San Francisco 9, Houston 5; New York 5, Montreal 3, 1st game; New York 6, Montreal 5, 2nd game; Philadelphia 6, Pittsburgh 3; Chicago 5, St. Louis 6; San Diego 12, Cincinnati 2.



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WEEKLY REVIEW

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UncleMondale Gets
The Numbers
And Hart Gets
A Warning

By HOWELL RAINES

ALL year, Democrats have been fretting about disunity. Last week, the party leaders came together behind Walter F. Mondale with a speed that seemed startling in contrast to the grinding ordeal of the Presidential primary campaign. With a degree of unanimity not evident for months, the leadership joined together to give Gary Hart a tour of the political graveyard reserved for defeated candidates who refuse to line up behind the victorious nominee.

The message to Senator Hart, delivered bluntly by House Speaker Thomas J. O'Neill Jr. and sweetly by Representative Morris K. Udall, was simple: Don't continue a fruitless challenge that would spoil your chances to try for the nomination again in some future year, or to be considered for the Vice Presidency in 1984.

After winning the New Jersey and West Virginia primaries last Tuesday, Mr. Mondale had more than the 1,967 delegates needed to nominate. Mr. Hart took California, New Mexico and South Dakota on the same day, bringing his year's total to 12 state primary victories to Mr. Mondale's 11. Even so, he finished 700 delegates behind the former Vice President, whose superior organization enabled him to fatten his count in the caucus states. "I always thought it was a shame that we couldn't put our candidate together with their organization," sighed Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, co-chairman of the Hart campaign.

Organization did play the predicted major role in Mr. Mondale's trudging journey to the nomination. But there were other forces at work that no one would have predicted four months ago. Who, for example, could have guessed that Mr. Mondale would set aside his carefully crafted "experience" and "inevitability" themes for an ad hoc attack strategy that, with its questioning of Mr.

Hart's character and personality, put the contest on the low road where it stayed for much of the spring? And while few doubted the importance of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. endorsement, perhaps no one suspected its absolute indispensability. Labor deserves the major credit for engineering the massive turnout of union and elderly voters that helped Mr. Mondale overcome the drain on his electoral base caused by the Rev. Jesse Jackson's ability to capture huge majorities among black voters.

When it comes to predictions, Mr. Hart deserves credit for sticking, in the face of almost universal disbelief, to his own: that he would eventually emerge as the breakthrough politician of the year. During months of obscurity, Mr. Hart ran a calm, disciplined campaign. One by one, former Governor Reubin Askew of Florida, Senator Ernest F. Hollings, Senator Alan Cranston, Senator George McGovern and Senator John Glenn dropped out. But after rattling Mr. Mondale with early defeats, Mr. Hart did not handle success as well as adversity.

The slighting reference to New Jersey that helped him lose that crucial state was only the latest demonstration of his talent for committing small but crippling blunders at critical moments. In fact, the entire contest may have turned on Illinois, where Mr. Hart got mired in Chicago's messy political wars and blew the potential of a big victory that, according to strategists on both sides, could have knocked Mr. Mondale out of the race.

The Virtue of Experience

Taken together, the Hart and Mondale candidacies proved the maxim of James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff and President Reagan's re-election manager, that in Presidential campaigning there is no substitute for experience. Mr. Hart damaged himself with novice mistakes. Mr. Mondale, for all his lackluster television personality, never gave himself a major self-inflicted wound. That is why Republican strategists such as Mr. Baker fear him as the Democratic nominee. They be-



Robert Neubecker

lieve that they cannot depend on Mr. Mondale to beat himself.

Mr. Mondale is on the beach in Southampton, L.I., this weekend to give his opponents "time to lick their wounds and think," as Mr. Udall put it. He and other Hart advisers hope the Senator will acknowledge Mr. Mondale as the probable nominee and put his own candidacy on noncombative status. In Colorado yesterday, Mr. Hart seemed to be responding to the coaxing in saying he would remain in the race but pledging "to do nothing that does not advance the purpose of defeating Ronald Reagan." Most party leaders agree that this statesmanlike approach would preserve him a prominent role at the convention, help him retire his campaign debt and keep him in position to pick up the pieces should some unforeseen disaster befall Mr. Mondale. His alternative is to start a series of "raids" on the Mondale delegates or try to strike a deal with Mr. Jackson, although even a shift of all the more than 370 Jackson delegates would leave him short of a majority.

As for Mr. Jackson, no one in the Democratic Party seems to know what he is going to do. Last week, he ranged from paean to party unity to threats of a floor fight on his favorite issue, delegate selection rules he says are racially discriminatory. Charles T. Manatt, Democratic national chairman, is to meet with leaders of the Jackson campaign this week in the hope that the complaints can be dealt with before the convention. In that and other meetings, party and Mondale campaign leaders will also begin to come to grips with the real question on their minds: What does Mr. Jackson want in return for his promise to work to turn out the black vote for a Mondale ticket?

As for the shape of that ticket, Washington by this weekend had settled into one of those fill-in-the-blank speculative periods that it adores. The speculation centers on names:

Mr. Hart, Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, Governor Cuomo, Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of Queens and virtually every other politically attractive Democrat from a major state.

But first Mr. Mondale must decide on his approach. There are several paths to follow, including that taken by John F. Kennedy, who picked his adversary in a divisive campaign, Lyndon B. Johnson, as a unifying gesture. Such reasoning could produce a Mondale-Hart ticket despite the year's hard words. A ticket-balancing approach could strengthen the argument of moderate and conservative Southerners pushing for Mr. Bentsen or Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia. A decision to try to create excitement with a bold stroke would raise the stock of women or a non-politician such as Lee A. Iacocca, the Chrysler Corporation chairman. Finally, there is always the possibility that Mr. Mondale will ignore all the main strategies and pick someone he likes or the person who, in his judgment, would be most fit to succeed to the Presidency.

The Saudis, With a Little Help From the U.S., Shot Down Iranian Planes Last Week

U.S. Finds It Tough to Keep the Gulf at Arm's Length

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

THE extension of the Persian Gulf conflict beyond the boundaries of Iran and Iraq raised serious problems for the Reagan Administration last week. Increasing tensions, particularly between Iran and Saudi Arabia, seemed to increase the chances that the United States could be drawn directly, albeit reluctantly, into the war. Washington was already deeply involved indirectly through its military assistance to Saudi Arabia and political support for Iraq.

Members of Congress reminded the Administration that, as supplier of Awacs electronic command planes and KC-10 aerial tankers to the Saudis, the Administra-

tion already looked like a combatant to the Iranians. Saudi officials acknowledged that their F-15's would not have been able to shoot down Iranian planes without information from the Awacs and aerial refueling.

Both sides were using American-made planes. The Iranians, who were major purchasers during the Shah's reign, rely on 20 to 30 old F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers, with reconnaissance by a dozen remaining advanced F-14 fighters equipped with sophisticated radar. The Saudis, who have replaced Teheran as the prime purchaser of American military equipment in the Persian Gulf, have 60 F-15's and larger numbers of older F-5's. Sales of American arms in the Gulf have been sharply criticized by Israel and its supporters in Congress who fear their eventual use against Israeli targets.

"We are going to be at war with Iran, not necessarily

in the Gulf, but at the Olympics and other places like that," a former Central Intelligence Agency official said after the Saudis shot down two Iranian planes. He meant that the Iranians, having been set back by the Saudi-American connection, might be planning to retaliate at a place and time of their choosing. What they lack in firepower, they make up in the dedication of followers willing to carry out terrorist actions such as the suicide bombing of the Marine barracks near Beirut in October.

"The mistake of Western analysts is that they always stress the (lack of) military equipment and tools of Iran and are not informed of the pivotal point of this revolution, which is the religious zeal of the people," Hojatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of the Iranian Parliament, was reported to have said last week.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz says the United States would be willing to act against state-directed terrorism. But would that include direct attacks on Iran? No such decision has yet been reached, Administration officials said.

In view of Iran's difficulties in keeping its planes in the air and the newly demonstrated Saudi resolve, officials in Washington seemed less fearful than formerly that Iran might launch attacks against Saudi oilfields and other hard-to-protect targets. Such attacks could lead to a request for United States planes to enter the fray. But the ability of the Saudi Air Force to meet the Iranians and prevail demonstrated that at least some Saudis were willing to take risks in their defense, making an appeal for American help less likely.

Concern About Stingers

Washington is committed to preserving the stability of the Government in Riyadh and the flow of oil from the Gulf to Western markets. The stakes are high enough to make American entry into the conflict conceivable. Also, some officials would not mind the chance to avenge Iran's treatment of American hostages five years ago.

But the official line minimizes the possibility of a combat role. "Only as a last resort would the United States consider direct military involvement — and then only in appropriate circumstances and if we were asked to do so," Michael H. Armacost, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, assured a Senate subcommittee. The senators were unanimous in expressing concern about where the 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles recently delivered to the Saudis would end up, and where the Administration's willingness to fulfill Saudi requests would take the United States.

Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, was worried about increasing American involve-

Indian Government Takes On
Sikhs in a Bloody Encounter

MOSLEMS against Hindus, Asamese against Bengalese, Sikh terrorists against all the rest — in India the sources of conflict that threaten the unity of the world's largest democracy seem endless. Last week, a long-running conflict between the Government and the Sikhs of Punjab, one of India's most advanced states, appeared to reach a point of desperation. Some 450 Sikh terrorists and more than 80 soldiers died as the army assaulted the Golden Temple of Amritsar, the holiest shrine of a holy city, and other religious centers.

In 1919, hundreds of Sikhs died in a park in Amritsar at the hands of British troops and became martyrs to the cause of Indian independence. This time, Amritsar was pitted against Indian troops, including Sikhs. The temple had become a fortress from which Sikh extremists led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale deployed machine guns, mortars and rockets against their besiegers.

After much hesitation, the Government gave the army a free hand to end the terrorism that had accompanied a two-year campaign for political autonomy and more recognition of the Sikhs' distinctive religion. "There is a limit to restraint," Home Secretary M.K. Wali said. In addition to clearing out the Golden Temple, the army attacked guerrillas in 43 temples and shrines throughout Punjab. Yesterday, guerrilla snipers were still killing soldiers at the Golden Temple.

Mr. Wali declared that the assaults

had "broken the back" of the extremist campaign. But the immediate result was 27 more deaths as Sikh anger exploded into riots in New Delhi, and other cities, and in killings between Moslems and Hindus in Bombay, where the army also intervened. The increased tension was unwelcome news to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who in elections later this year will be seeking approval of her efforts to hold the fractious country together under strong central rule.

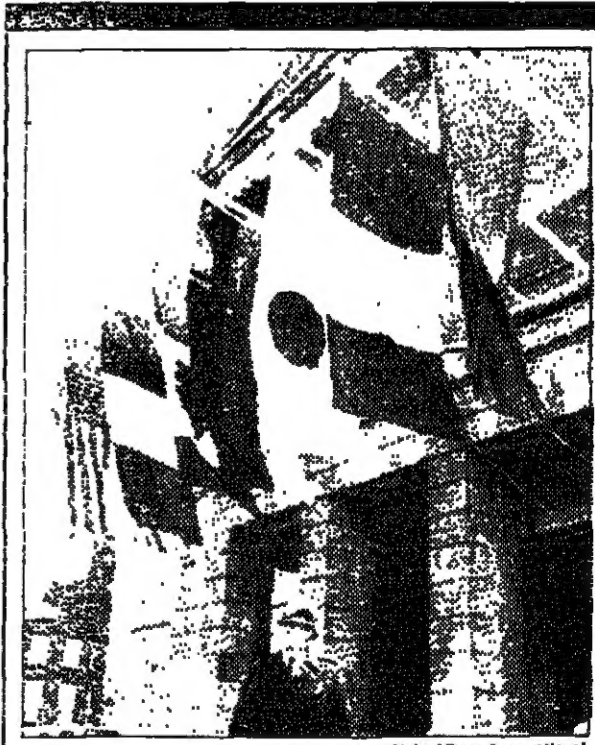
The main Sikh political party, the Akali Dal, announced a "protest program" in New Delhi. The party, a nonviolent group up to now, has hardened its attitude to compete with more militant groups. The Akali Dal leader, Harchand Singh Longowal, had been in the temple complex although he left it with his followers before the assault. The party was condemned by Mrs. Gandhi for not combating terrorism but her Government was under fire for not dealing with the Sikh demands effectively.

Among those who held out in the temple and were killed were Mr. Bhindranwale, the fundamentalist religious leader, who may become a martyr in the eyes of many of the 14 million Sikhs, and Bhai Amrik Singh, the head of the student federation. Students have been blamed for most of the terrorism in recent months.

Punjab has practical as well as symbolic importance for India. It is a major grain producer and a threat to halt shipments was among the reasons for the Government's tough reaction.



Sikhs trying to smother a tear gas canister thrown by police in New Delhi last week.



United Press International

Rarefied air at
the economic summit

4

ment. Several senators said the War Powers Act should be invoked because of the part played by the Awacs and aerial tankers in downing the Iranian planes. But the Administration, seeking to minimize anxiety in this election year, said there had been no chance that Americans would be hit. The Awacs and the refueling planes fly considerable distances from the combat, Mr. Armacost said.

The war last week followed the pattern of recent incidents. A Turkish tanker was hit by the Iraqis when it ventured into the 50-mile "exclusion zone" they have established around Kharg Island, Iran's chief oil export terminal. Iran still had 300,000 to 500,000 troops near the Iraqi border leading some — but not all — analysts to predict that the long-expected "human wave" attack was imminent. Iraq bombed the Iranian city of Banah, according to the Iraqis, killing and wounding 600 people. That touched off Iranian shelling of Iraqi border cities, again with many casualties reported.

On the diplomatic front, special envoys from Algeria last week appealed unavailingly to Iran to negotiate a settlement. But Teheran was still insisting on the ouster of Iraq's President Saddam Hussein as a precondition for negotiations.

"All of the people who have a capacity to talk to either side just get nowhere with Iran in terms of trying to get it worked out," Mr. Shultz said.

The Nation

Court Upholds Detaining Youths Awaiting Trial

Most states allow judges to keep potentially dangerous juveniles locked up in detention centers before their trials. But in 1982 a Federal appeals court ruled that a New York statute that permitted such pretrial confinement was unconstitutional because it amounted to "punishment without proof of guilt." Last week, in a 6-to-3 ruling, the Supreme Court overturned that ruling and reinstated the law.

In a majority opinion written by Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist, the Court said that while a juvenile has an "undoubtedly substantial" interest in "freedom from institutional restraints," that interest "must be qualified by the recognition that juveniles, unlike adults, are always in some form of custody." Further, he said, the New York statute protected society from crime while shielding the juvenile from the consequences of additional brushes with the law, including "physical injury which may be suffered when a victim fights back or a policeman attempts to make an arrest."

The minority view was drafted by Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall, who disagreed with the contention that pretrial detention was little more than a shifting of custody from parent to state. "Surely there is a qualitative difference," he said, "between imprisonment and the condition of being subject to the supervision and control of an adult who has one's best interests at heart."

Law enforcement officials by and large applauded the ruling. Pennsylvania Attorney General LeRoy S. Zimmerman, who had signed a "friend of court" brief supporting the New York law, called the decision "a major victory for the preservation of the juvenile justice system." But Martin Guggenheim of the New York University Law School called the ruling "a devastating blow" for young people that would add to the overcrowding of jails and delay long-overdue juvenile-law reforms. Through the ruling was the Court's first word on preventive detention, most analysts said that because of the stress the court gave the special status of juveniles, the decision was no indication that it would uphold pretrial confinement for potentially dangerous adults.

House Initiative On Drinking Age

In December, a Presidential commission urged Congress to crack down on states that didn't raise their legal drinking age to 21. Last week, after a brief debate that dwelled on reports that 5,000 teen-agers are killed and 15,000 injured every year in alcohol-related accidents, the House voted to do just that.

Under an amendment to a highway bill, the 27 states that allow drinking before 21 would have two years to change. If they missed the deadline, 5 percent of their 1987 highway money would be withheld; continued noncompliance would cost states 10 percent in 1988.

Representative Bud Shuster, Republican of Pennsylvania, said a national standard was needed because many of the accidents that kill and injure teen-agers every year take place along "slaughter alleys" — roads young drivers take to and from states that have lower age restrictions. An opponent, J. Roy Rowland, Democrat of Georgia, argued that the amendment was "the wrong thing for us to do." If teen-agers cannot legally drink, he said, they should not be required to register for the draft or be allowed to vote.

Similar legislation is pending in the Senate, but the outlook was uncertain. Senator Robert T. Stafford, the Vermont Republican who heads the Environment and Public Works Committee, said he favored a uniform drinking age of 21, but — like President Reagan and Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Hanford Dole — said it wasn't a rule that should be imposed by Washington. "I think it ought to be something the states decide," he said.

A First Looms For Mississippi

Not since Reconstruction has Mississippi sent a black to Congress. But the election to the House this November of a slave's grandson loomed as a better than even possibility after last week's primary election. State Representative Robert Clark defeated a white segregationist and two other blacks to become the Democratic Party's nominee. Mr. Clark thus qualified for a rematch with the incumbent, Republican Webb Franklin. Two years ago, Mr. Franklin beat Mr. Clark by 3,000 votes in the black majority district; since then, it has been redrawn by Federal courts to increase black representation.

Mississippi Democrats also picked a former governor, William Winter, to oppose Republican Senator Thad

Cochran. A number of other states settled on senatorial nominees last week. In West Virginia, Gov. Jay Rockefeller easily defeated three opponents — spending \$4 million in the process — to win the Democratic nomination for the Senate seat held by retiring Democrat Jennings Randolph. To oppose Mr. Rockefeller, who spent nearly \$11 million in his 1980 campaign for governor, Republicans selected a millionaire businessman, John Raese.

At week's end, Texas Democrats still didn't know who their senatorial nominee would be. A recount got under way when, after the first tabulation, Lloyd Doggett, a liberal state legislator, had a mere 467-vote lead over conservative Representative Kent Hance. The eventual winner will face Republican Phil Gramm for the Senate seat being given up by Republican John Tower.

As is often the case, California had to cope with a batch of propositions. One of the eight the state's voters approved was a constitutional amendment that would give state courts the authority to remove from office politicians who tell campaign-trail lies about their opponents. Another proposition, the handiwork of retired businessman Paul Gann, the co-author of Proposition 13, would drastically curtail the power of the speaker of the State Assembly. The Legislature immediately sued, maintaining that the initiative, which would also reduce the amount of money the Legislature could spend on itself, was unconstitutional.

In St. Louis meanwhile, voters for the second time turned down a \$63.5 million bond issue for school improvements called for under a voluntary desegregation plan. There was speculation that a Federal judge might order the city to raise taxes to underwrite the improvements.

Whittling Is Hard Work

With 120 members of Congress meeting in 12 groups last week to reconcile their two chambers' versions of a down payment on the deficit, only the 17 tax writers from the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees were on the fast track, and then only on matters on which there was substantial agreement going in.

A number of new revenue raisers worth some \$40 billion were quickly approved, bringing the tax team \$10 billion away from its \$50 billion goal. But only temporarily, because coming up are provisions that will cost billions, such as the controversial tax breaks for businesses setting themselves up in urban "enterprise zones" and the less difficult Individual Retirement Accounts for non-working spouses. Also ahead in the tax conference is a tussle on savings in Medicare and Medicaid; the Senate would like to pick up \$2.2 billion, the House, less than a billion.

Cuts in domestic spending and a slowdown in military build-up constitute the rest of the deficit reducing package, which the Senate would put at \$141 billion over three years and the House at \$182 billion. Serious work on the difference in the totals, and the priorities — the House would take more from the Pentagon than would the Senate — hasn't yet begun. Whatever the bottom line, leaders in both houses want it reached by June 29, before Congress leaves for its Fourth of July-Democratic National Convention recess.

Study Finds Fault With I.R.S. Plan

All in all, it seems, the Internal Revenue Service may do best when it sticks to its business. A study the I.R.S. disclosed last week suggested that when the tax agency is used for nontax purposes, such as diverting refunds to pay court-ordered child support, the number of tax cheaters increases.

The study, which involved two large groups of taxpayers, compared the filing practices of those who had child support payments deducted from their refunds with those who did not. The year after such payments were diverted, 26 percent of those in the diversion group failed to file tax returns. In the comparison group, 12 percent failed to file.

The study came to light during testimony by Roscoe L. Egger, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, before a Senate subcommittee. Senator William S. Cohen, the Maine Republican who heads the panel, said the study suggested that involving the I.R.S. in such nontax activity, as would be required in the Senate version of the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984, "actually may be reducing the number of Americans who voluntarily comply with the tax laws."

A Presidential commission has estimated that such involvement by the I.R.S. could save the Government \$800 million over four years. That estimate presumably will be subject to further study.

Caroline Rand Herron,
Michael Wright
and Carlyle C. Douglas

Cities Are Updating the Doctrine of Eminent Domain

New Bedford May Step In So Jobs Won't Move Out



Employee at the Morse Cutting Tools plant in New Bedford, Mass., operating a drill machine.

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

As he watched his city's industrial base erode, Brian J. Lawler, the Mayor of New Bedford, Mass., concluded that he needed a new tool to staunch the loss of jobs. He may have found it, however, in a centuries-old doctrine. He announced last week that the city might try to save a cutting-tools factory, and 450 jobs with it, by purchasing the plant through the power of eminent domain.

If New Bedford follows through, the old Massachusetts whaling port will be the latest of several communities in applying a power normally used to obtain land for streets and sewers in more creative and controversial ways — to save factories, redistribute property, keep sports franchises from bolting. Two weeks ago, the United States Supreme Court upheld Hawaii's plan to use eminent domain to take huge private estates and sell the land to the many islanders seeking to become landowners. And Baltimore, following the lead of Oakland, Calif., is trying to use eminent domain to buy the Indianapolis-bound Colts

and return the football team to Maryland. "Local and state legislatures are becoming more inventive in their use of the power," said Curtis J. Berger, Wien Professor of Real Estate Law at Columbia University. "Government has found new ways to use the power that 50 and 75 years ago would have seemed very extreme."

The doctrine of eminent domain allows governments to take private property without the owner's consent, but the Constitution requires that there be "just compensation" and that the taking be for "public use." It is the latter concept that is changing today. "The previous companies we've taken by eminent domain, we've torn the buildings down," Mayor Lawler noted. "Here we intend to do the reverse."

New Bedford lost a major textile mill two decades ago and saw an out-of-state owner close a screw-manufacturing mill two years ago, eliminating 1,000 jobs. When Gulf & Western Industries, a conglomerate that owns Paramount Pictures and Madison Square Garden, started pondering the fate of its Morse Cutting Tools plant in the city, Mayor Lawler drew the line. He says the city will use eminent domain if it appears that

Gulf & Western will close the plant or sell it to a company that plans to run it only for a year or two before consolidating it into another operation. "We just went through a major plant closing two years ago, and we don't want to go through it again," the Mayor said. "It's not whether eminent domain is a good or bad way. It may just be the only way to keep the plant open."

To invoke eminent domain, New Bedford would "condemn" the plant, purchase it and then try to sell it to another company, a public-private partnership or a group of management and union employees. City and union officials say new management can succeed where Gulf & Western failed because it would be satisfied to run the plant at a lower profit. The United Electrical Workers and the state are working with the Mayor and would likely contribute funds for the purchase. Estimates range from \$5 million to \$14 million, not counting additional capital needed to modernize the run-down facility.

But some members of the business community find New Bedford's novel use of eminent domain worrisome. They are concerned not only about government meddling in free enterprise but also about the city's ability to finance the plant's purchase.

"When a company decides to move a plant, the Federal labor laws don't provide much help," said Andrew P. Buchsbaum, an attorney with Georgetown University's Institute for Public Representation, which is assisting New Bedford. "Communities can try public pressures and financial incentives, but they often don't work either. That's where eminent domain can help."

That's what several hundred steelworkers, religious leaders and others in the Pittsburgh area calling themselves the Tri-State Conference on Steel are banking on. The organization is pushing a plan to set up a regional authority that would buy several ailing steel mills through eminent domain, then modernize and run them. Not all such schemes have unanimous community support, however. Detroit stirred a huge controversy three years ago when it used eminent domain to clear 1,100 homes in Poletown to provide land for construction of a \$600 million General Motors plant providing 6,000 jobs.

"Given the plight of the cities over the last 20 years, especially since there's not much help coming from Washington, they're looking for a way to help themselves," said John D. Johnston, a professor of property law at the New York University School of Law. "They have turned to eminent domain as a way of preserving their economic base and tax base. That doesn't seem like an illegitimate purpose."

Mr. Johnston said courts have traditionally deferred to legislatures regarding what constitutes a public purpose. He predicted, however, that as governments used eminent domain less for sewers and roads and more for holding on to football teams, the courts would scrutinize more closely what was or wasn't a public purpose.

"The toughest problem," he added, "is where the government takes private property into public ownership and then turns it back to some other private owner. Those are cases that begin to stretch the public purpose idea pretty far."

Indianapolis Pornography Ban Prompts a Constitutional Challenge

A Feminist Offensive Against Exploitation

By E.R. SHIPP

INDIANAPOLIS — An unusual coalition of radical feminists and conservative women politicians in Minneapolis and Indianapolis is leading a novel campaign against pornography. Their goal is the enactment of local laws that would define pornography as "the sexually explicit subordination of women" and make purveyors subject to legal action for violating the civil rights of women.

They and their supporters insist that the laws are directed at such things as material that involves violence in the portrayal of sex. But civil libertarians, publishing trade associations and other groups argue differently. They have brought a Federal lawsuit challenging the month-old Indianapolis law on First Amendment grounds. Michael A. Bamberger, general counsel for the New York-based Media Coalition Inc., a group of trade associations, said that the law is so broad that it would include movies such as "Psycho" and "Tarzan" and books such as "Gone with the Wind."

The motives of those who have come to be involved in the drive against pornography here and in Minneapolis — where similar legislation was adopted but vetoed by the mayor — are varied. Some want to save souls. Some want to shore up their property values. Others are afraid crime will increase and "combat zones" will emerge wherever adult bookstores and the like exist.

The principal leaders — two women who style themselves as radical feminists, Andrea Dworkin, a New York author, and Catherine A. MacKinnon, a constitutional law professor at the University of Minnesota — say their campaign has resulted in the "breakthrough" needed to unite women of all persuasions behind issues usually identified with the feminist movement.

Clearly the experience is changing some attitudes. In Minneapolis, Charlee Hoyt, for example, says: "I used to think I was a conservative. Nowadays I don't know." Miss Hoyt, a member of the City Council, is a white Republican who opposes the equal rights amendment. But she has joined with another Council member, Van F. White, a black Democrat, who supports the E.R.A. and has been a local civil rights leader, fighting for job opportunities for minorities. They are the sponsors of the bill that was drafted by Miss Dworkin and Professor MacKinnon.

In Indianapolis, where many of the ordinance's proponents deemed Miss Dworkin too radical for their conservative community, Professor MacKinnon was brought in as a consultant and she worked with Beulah A. Coughenour, a conservative Republican. Mrs. Coughenour also had the support of the Rev. Greg Dixon, a former Moral



A proponent of Minneapolis's antipornography measure at a City Council hearing last week.

Majority official, who, with his followers, packed Council hearings to lobby for passage of the proposed ordinance.

The Minneapolis Council passed the ordinance last December, but it was vetoed by Mayor Donald M. Fraser, who said that it threatened First Amendment guarantees. Supporters of the measure haven't given up, however, and at a hearing last week urged the Council to pass the bill again. The Council, which must consider a competing measure that would simply strengthen existing criminal obscenity laws, postponed action until June 20.

In Indianapolis, the ordinance was adopted by the City-Council in April by a vote of 24 to 5. On May 1, Indianapolis Mayor William H. Hudnut 3d, a Presbyterian minister, signed it into law. An hour later, the lawsuit was filed; a Federal judge has enjoined the city from enforcing the law and a further hearing has been scheduled for July 30.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Coughenour is trying to amend the Indianapolis ordinance — which defines pornography as "the sexually explicit subordination of women, graphically depicted, whether in pictures or in words" — to address some of the complaints of its critics, who say the law is so vague that no one is sure exactly who can be held liable for what. Her amendments make it clear, for instance, that a bookseller can-

not be held liable unless he actually knows that the material on his shelves is pornographic. The Council is expected to adopt the amendments tomorrow.

The legislation in the two cities differs in some respects. In Minneapolis, a lawsuit could be brought against anyone thought to be trafficking in pornography. If found guilty, the defendant could be ordered to pay damages and to stop selling. In Indianapolis, it is the city's Office of Equal Opportunity that rules on complaints. If it finds a person guilty, it can issue a cease-and-desist order; if that order is ignored, the offender can be subject to court-imposed penalties. But, Mr. Bamberger complains, even if a retail bookstore is exonerated, the publicity will have "branded it with the appellation of pornographer."

The anti-pornography coalition began in Minneapolis by chance. Professor MacKinnon and Miss Dworkin, who were teaching at the law school, were asked by neighborhood groups to testify on behalf of a zoning law being considered by the Council. Instead of supporting the law, the two laid out a plan to attack pornography through the city's civil rights statutes. The Council hired them to draft a law. Then last January, at a National League of Cities meeting, Mayor Hudnut introduced Miss Hoyt to Mrs. Coughenour. They took it from there.

The World

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Reagan Tries Moderation With Moscow

The backdrops were Irish, French and British last week, but President Reagan was nonetheless speaking to the Russians — and to American voters concerned about relations with Moscow. Addressing the Irish Parliament in Dublin, he offered to take up a Soviet demand for a NATO declaration renouncing the use of force, if Moscow would negotiate on NATO proposals which, he said, would "give concrete new meaning to that principle."

A similar combination has been promoted at the Stockholm conference on European security and confidence-building by the group of countries that call themselves neutral and nonaligned. Previously, the United States has rejected the declaration, saying it would merely repeat United Nations commitments and might draw NATO into a pledge not to be first to use nuclear weapons.

At memorial services in Normandy, Mr. Reagan called for "reconciliation with the Soviet Union," paying tribute to 20 million Russians who died in World War II. But he also criticized the Soviet troops in Eastern Europe, saying they were "uninvited, unwanted, unyielding, almost 40 years after the war."

East-West relations came up again when Mr. Reagan met with leaders of the most powerful Western countries at the economic summit in London. They called for speedy resumption of the suspended Geneva negotiations on arms control, taking note of United States willingness to resume the talks without preconditions. The Western leaders also endorsed the opening toward the Soviet proposal for a new commitment to renounce the use of force that Mr. Reagan had suggested in Dublin.

Early reactions from Moscow were not encouraging. The Novosti press agency there insisted Mr. Reagan had said "nothing new" in Dublin. And Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader, repeated Moscow's refusal to resume the arms control talks at Geneva unless the United States dismantles its new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The Western leaders also discussed international terrorism, but they were evidently unable to agree about how to combat it. The official statement merely reported "support in the discussion" for closer coordination among police and security organizations and a "review" of the sale of weapons to countries that support terrorists.

Without naming Libya, but clearly referring to the recent shooting in front of that country's People's Bureau in London, they expressed serious concern at "the increasing involvement of states and governments in acts of terrorism, including the abuse of diplomatic immunity."

More About Sakharov

A senior Administration official told American reporters in London last week that Andrei D. Sakharov, the dissident Soviet physicist, was alive and that the health of his wife, Yelena G. Bonner, was not in danger. "There seems to be a transition toward a non-life-threatening situation for both," the official said, dismissing reports that Dr. Sakharov may have died. The physicist began a hunger strike May 2, seeking permission for his wife to get treatment abroad for a heart ailment.

Other American officials were skeptical. "At a minimum, the Soviet Union ought to allow some independent observers," Secretary of State George P. Shultz said, "at least to see them, if not to interview them, and of course to let them emigrate if they want to."

A lesser East-West irritant was removed last week when Sergei M. Kozlov, a Soviet mathematician, left for home. Mr. Kozlov, a visiting scholar at the California Institute of Technology, had told Pasadena police officers that he was being followed by Soviet intelligence agents and that somebody was trying to gas him. No evidence turned up. Tass, the Soviet press agency, said he was a "sick person" and the State Department did not dispute it. While Mr. Kozlov was deciding whether to stay or go, Soviet scientists refused to renew an agreement on scholarly exchanges. The National Academy of Sciences, meanwhile, suspended talks on cooperation with its Soviet counterpart because of members' "deep concern" about Dr. Sakharov's circumstances.

In another indicator of prickly relations, a Soviet court last week accused two American reporters for "The Associated Press" of playing "an unsavory role" by helping a Russian to plan "high treason by defecting." The American Embassy in Moscow said the publicity given to the case may be intended to intimidate Western correspondents.

Remembering In Normandy

Celebrating an alliance that has survived the centrifugal pulls of 40 years, President Reagan and the

other leaders of the West hit the beaches in Normandy last week. As naval artillery boomed salutes, he joined President François Mitterrand of France, Queen Elizabeth II of Britain and the leaders of Norway, the Netherlands, Canada and Luxembourg in marking the anniversary of the landings that led to victory in World War II.

They also paid homage to the defeated. The wartime adversaries "are reconciled and are building the Europe of freedom," Mr. Mitterrand said. "Let us salute the German dead who fell in this combat. Their sons bear witness as ours do that a new era may begin."

In Bonn, there were warnings against promoting "a day of alienation" for West Germans in the post-war Atlantic alliance. The left-wing Greens Party dismissed the celebration as an "electoral propaganda show." But Manfred Rummel, the Christian Democratic Mayor of Stuttgart and son of the World War II



United Press International
Veteran of D-Day invasion visiting American Cemetery in Normandy.

Field Marshal, was more understanding. "It was better to lose the war with Hitler," he said, "than to win it with Hitler."

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was 14 years old when the allies landed in 1944, had a hard time understanding why he was not invited to Normandy last week. But he came into his own again the next day in London. As spokesman for Western Europe's biggest economy, he was a respected participant at the annual economic summit.

Political Peace In Argentina?

Six months old, Argentina's democracy still has a tentative quality as the country wrestles with 600 percent inflation, a \$45 billion dollar foreign debt and a restless working class. Last week, President Raúl Alfonsín gained a measure of national consensus on what to do. After two weeks of negotiation he signed an agreement with former President Isabel Martínez de Perón, titular head of the powerful Peronist Party, and the heads of 12 other opposition groups.

Mr. Alfonsín hailed "a new political style" and "a sense of national unity." But it was not immediately clear whether the limited austerity program the leaders approved will be enough for the International Monetary Fund, which has been negotiating a refinancing of the debt in an effort to avoid default. The I.M.F. has been demanding budget cuts, for example, to lower inflation. The accord pledges the Government to increase in worker purchasing power and to economic incentives, which were given a higher priority than the fight against inflation. It also remained to be seen how well Mrs. Perón's signature will be respected by her nominal followers in the party and in the country's most powerful labor unions. Mrs. Perón, the widow of President Juan Domingo Perón, returned to her self-exile in Spain, leaving behind divisions in both. Several hours before she took off, a bomb was discovered aboard her plane and she transferred to another.

One big gain Mr. Alfonsín made was an agreement by the labor unions to hold elections in the next 90 days. The elections, he hopes, will break the hold of the old-time Peronist leaders, who have been encouraging strikes. As for the laborious negotiations with the I.M.F. team in Buenos Aires, the President, who is to leave for an official visit to Spain today, indicated that, if there was no agreement, he would go over its head and submit an austerity plan directly to the fund's board of directors in Washington.

Milt Freudenheim
and Henry Gihler

Shultz's Visit to Nicaragua Has New Leaders Worried

Honduras Hints at a Softer Line

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — Honduras's new military command finished tallying the pluses and minuses of its friendship with the United States last week and found the equation wanting. The effects will be felt not only within its borders, but throughout the region and in Washington.

The relationship between Honduras and the United States has become increasingly extensive. Honduras has invited American troops to conduct military exercises with its own forces and has turned a blind eye to the anti-Sandinista rebels operating from its territory against the Government of neighboring Nicaragua.

The United States has also improved or built a number of airstrips for the Hondurans, although the Senate last week deleted funds for construction of two military bases the Administration wanted to build there. It is operating a training center for Honduran and Salvadoran soldiers in the northern part of the country. American military aid has risen steadily from \$9.1 million in 1981 to \$41 million in the current fiscal year, \$40 million of that in outright grants. Economic aid has increased from \$47.3 million to \$106.5 million over the same period. But other benefactors have pulled out, leaving Honduras with a net loss.

Signs of change in the Honduran attitude have been appearing since Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martínez, the fervently anti-Communist military commander who helped keep Honduras firmly in the United States camp, was ousted by disgraced officers March 31. His successor, Gen. Walter Lopez Reyes, took to national television and radio last week to signal that the transition period was over and a new policy had begun.

The general's language was oblique, but the message appeared to have reached its intended recipients. He spoke of "adjusting the expenses of developing the armed forces to the real capacity of the national economy" and of conducting international military cooperation in "conditions of the most absolute respect for the vital interests and dignity of the republic."

He spoke as well of "full support for the negotiations the executive power is conducting in the search for a negotiated and peaceful regional solution to the Central American conflict, within the atmosphere of the Contadora initiative." The so-called Contadora group, composed of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, has spent 18 months in that quest with little success. It has often felt that its efforts are being thwarted by Honduras, acting for the Reagan Administration.

'Dangerous Imbalance'

Several factors lay behind the Honduran reassessment. One was what General Lopez Reyes called the "dangerous social-economic imbalance" caused by the country's declining export income and rising import costs — an imbalance aggravated by soaring military spending.

Another was the House of Representatives' recent rejection of new aid for the Nicaraguan rebels battling the Sandinista Government. "If Reagan doesn't get the funding for the contras," said a politician, referring to the rebels, "what are we going to do with them?"

Another factor was Secretary of State George P. Shultz's recent visit to Nicaragua, which left Honduras worried that it might find itself alone in promoting a hard line against its southern neighbor. "If there is an arrangement with Nicaragua and El Salvador," the politician said, "this country will become an orphan that has played a ridiculous role." Under General Lopez Reyes, he predicted, the United States will "still have a friend in the Honduran military — what they

won't have is a slave as they had in Alvarez."

That was a reputation that extended well beyond Honduras's border. Officials were increasingly embarrassed by other Latin American nations' pointing to Honduras as a colony of the United States, and by frequent joking about the country becoming the latest in the United States' fleet of aircraft carriers.

The situation has hardly been pleasing to the civilian Government of President Roberto Suazo Cordova, which spent its first two years in office almost totally eclipsed by General Alvarez Martínez's military establishment. General Lopez Reyes called his predecessor's behavior "injurious to the national interest" and promised that under his rule, the military would be "equal to any other organ of the Government, subject to the rule of law." But the fact that he, not the President, outlined the change in policy left some doubt over how equal the military planned to become. Since his ascension, General Lopez Reyes has been meeting with human rights, peasant and labor groups — a situation civilian politicians view as salutary in some respects, since

General Alvarez tended to dismiss the groups as disruptive forces, but still worrisome in its indication of where power continues to rest.

Despite its problems, Honduras has managed to avoid the turmoil that has gripped its neighbors. It is even poorer than El Salvador — unemployment is officially at 21 percent, foreign debt is more than \$2 billion — yet subversive activity here has been rare.

The reasons are difficult to explain. Some credit the tranquility to early attempts at land distribution which, while not entirely effective, prevented the massive accumulation of wealth by individual owners seen in other Central American countries. Some credit the labor movement, which is unusually strong for a country in this region, and better able to gain concessions.

The Hondurans are betting that the United States will invest enough new funds here to keep stability and friendship intact, and United States officials think the Hondurans may be correct. "They're beating us over the head with the message," one said. "This is it — these are the cards we have to play with."



United Press International; Sigma Claude Urraca
Members of a U.S. engineer battalion in Cucuyagua, Honduras, last month; Gen. Walter Lopez Reyes.

U.S. Aid Could Hinge on a Return to Civilian Rule

Wary Steps Toward Democracy In Liberia

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

MONROVIA, Liberia — Four years ago, a wiry, not-too-well-educated 28-year-old army sergeant named Samuel K. Doe led a small group of enlisted men in assassinating the President of this underdeveloped west African country.

Today, the sergeant, mysteriously age 34 according to official accounts, is a somber head of state who wears three-piece suits and uses an honorific "doctor" in front of his name. In other ways, too, the transformation of Mr. Doe has been extraordinary. But the most important change for Mr. Doe and for Liberia may be yet to come. Next month, the ban on politics imposed just after the takeover is supposed to be lifted, thus possibly beginning a transition toward elections and civilian rule.

The United States is betting heavily on the process. This year, Washington provided \$77 million in economic and military assistance to Liberia, far more, per capita, than it gave to any other African country. For next year, more than \$91 million has been proposed.

If Liberia does indeed move to civilian, multi-party democracy, it will be going against the current tide in Africa where the majority of countries are led by soldiers and most of the rest are one-party states.

"Africa does not have a good record in this regard," Peter L. Naigow, Liberia's Minister of Information, acknowledged. "We are hoping to be an exception."

Mr. Doe has not yet said whether he will run for president, although signs point in that direction. His public image has shifted dramatically from tough soldier in dark glasses and khaki to thoughtful, bespectacled statesman. An honorary degree bestowed by the University of Seoul, Korea, has given rise to references to "Dr. Doe" in official publications and on the Government-owned television and radio stations.



Wootin Camp, Homer Sykes
Posters of Samuel K. Doe abound in Monrovia, Liberia.

And Mr. Doe's birthdate, previously given as May 6, 1952, is now officially described as incorrect by two years. The revised date means that he will meet the requirement in Liberia's draft constitution that a president be at least 35 upon assuming office.

There are other signs that, according to some Liberians and Western diplomats, indicate a reluctance to fulfill the pledge to shift to democratic government. For example, the date of the elections has been postponed from January 1985 to November of that year. Removal of the ban on politics, originally scheduled to take place in April, has been delayed until next month.

When the Liberian ambassador, George T.

Washington, was asked by the State Department to explain the election delay, Mr. Doe angrily denounced the United States for interference in Liberia's affairs and threatened to return \$350,000 in aid earmarked for election expenses.

The United States has always had a special relationship with Liberia. In 1822, freed American slaves, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society and with financial help from President James Monroe, began to settle in the area that took the name of Monrovia. A quarter of a century later, they established the first independent republic in Africa, with a red, white and blue flag and a constitution drawn up by a dean of the Harvard Law School.

The freed slaves and their descendants, known as Americo-Liberians, became the country's elite, ruling through the True Whig Party, living in houses and mansions modeled on those of the American South and setting themselves apart from the indigenous tribes.

A Weakened Economy

In 1926, the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company began operations 30 miles east of Monrovia. The company soon became the dominant economic force in the country, a role it continued to play until the late 1980's.

Additional American investment in a variety of areas helped fuel rapid growth until the late 1970's when falling prices for the country's main exports, rubber and iron ore, combined with sharply higher costs for imported oil to weaken the economy.

According to a senior Western diplomat, William R. Tolbert Jr., who was then the President, asked Washington for increased aid to improve the living conditions of Liberia's restive soldiers. Washington did not pay much attention and the funds were not provided.

Then in the spring of 1980, Master Sergeant Doe and 16 other enlisted men forced their way into the executive mansion and killed Mr. Tolbert. Mr. Doe had never been in charge of more than 150 men. Both Liberians and Western residents say that his ability to learn was remarkable and that he rapidly matured as a leader.

Some of those acquainted with Mr. Doe add, however, that the sheer pressure of attempting to absorb so much information and make so many decisions while simultaneously fending off challenges to his leadership appears to have taken a toll. He has become erratic and temperamental, said a Government official, who declined to be identified.

He is also said to have a low tolerance for criticism. "How can I deal with these politicians?" a senior official quoted Mr. Doe as saying recently. "They say one thing and mean another. They talk out of both sides of their mouth." Yet he will surely have to face campaign criticism if he decides to participate in a free election.

Reagan Gets Off the Hook for High Interest Rates and Promises to Deal With the Deficit

Summiters Steer Clear Of the Sturm und Drang

By LEONARD SILK

LONDON — As the British briefing team arrived and sat down in the glare of floodlights to inform the press of what had happened at last week's economic summit conference, a fanfare of trumpets sounded over the loud-speaker system and a rude, presumably journalistic, voice sang out from the rear, "This is the universe!"

The view from the summit tends to be cosmic, exalted and distant from earthly routine. As the leaders of the seven Western industrial countries were meeting to map economic strategy, police were battling demonstrating miners outside Parliament, striking metalworkers shut down much of West Germany's auto industry, and third-world countries were petitioning the leaders in London to move their debts and bring down interest rates lest they provoke economic and political upheavals.

Did reality succeed in reaching the heights? The answer is that it did, though not enough to change the scheduled tone of self-congratulation or the pre-set policy positions. "At recent summits," said Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the host, "we have agreed that our objective is recovery based on the continued reduction of inflation. In pursuing that aim we have further emphasized the need to restrain public expenditure, public borrowing and monetary growth."

Defending her own "hard-cheese" monetarism in the face of persistently high unemployment — it remains at 12.7 percent in Britain — she added, "Although this is not an easy or comfortable strategy for any of us, we know that the recovery will be sustained only if we pursue it on that basis. That must surely be the first message to go out from this summit meeting: The strategy is the right one, and we intend to stick to it."

The other heads of government backed Mrs. Thatcher on that plea for continued monetary restraint and determined action to shrink public deficits. Even President Reagan could be enthusiastic about this policy, as long as no one specified how it should be achieved. He remains opposed, at least in theory and in rhetoric, to

doing it by raising taxes. He told his colleagues at one session that if only Congress had done what he had asked, it would have shrunk the deficit by \$40 billion. But although the United States maintained that there was no link between budget deficits and high interest rates, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson, rejected this appraisal as "simple-minded."

The conference proclaimed everyone's continued commitment to slow monetary growth and tight fiscal discipline, although an opposite policy — the Reagan Administration's widening budget deficits resulting from huge tax cuts and climbing military expenditures — had enabled the United States to play the role of locomotive to the world, pulling it out of the deep slump in 1981 and 1982. Mr. Reagan said that he would deal forcefully with deficits from now on and they accepted his reassurances, at least publicly. "We are not here to put each other in the dock," said a British spokesman.

Mr. Reagan also avoided public censure for United States real interest rates (which are at record highs in relation to inflation) by insisting that he disliked high rates as much as anyone and meant to bring them down in time by sticking to anti-inflationary policies.

The distant voice of Martin Feldstein, the soon-to-depart chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, repeating his warning that interest rates were likely to go on rising as the result of the big budget deficits and the strong revival of private loan demand, was dismissed by the Americans here. "In the long run," said a Treasury spokesman, "even Marty agrees that rates will go down." But no American economic official here was prepared to say when.

On other issues, there was little change in the pre-summit collective party line. The problem of dealing with the international debt problems of third-world countries should be tackled case by case, the leaders agreed, with easier treatment from commercial banks and the International Monetary Fund for countries making sacrifices to put their economies in order. The debtors should try to attract more foreign investment from the rich countries rather than borrow so much.

The international monetary system set up at Bretton



President Reagan, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President François Mitterrand meeting last week.

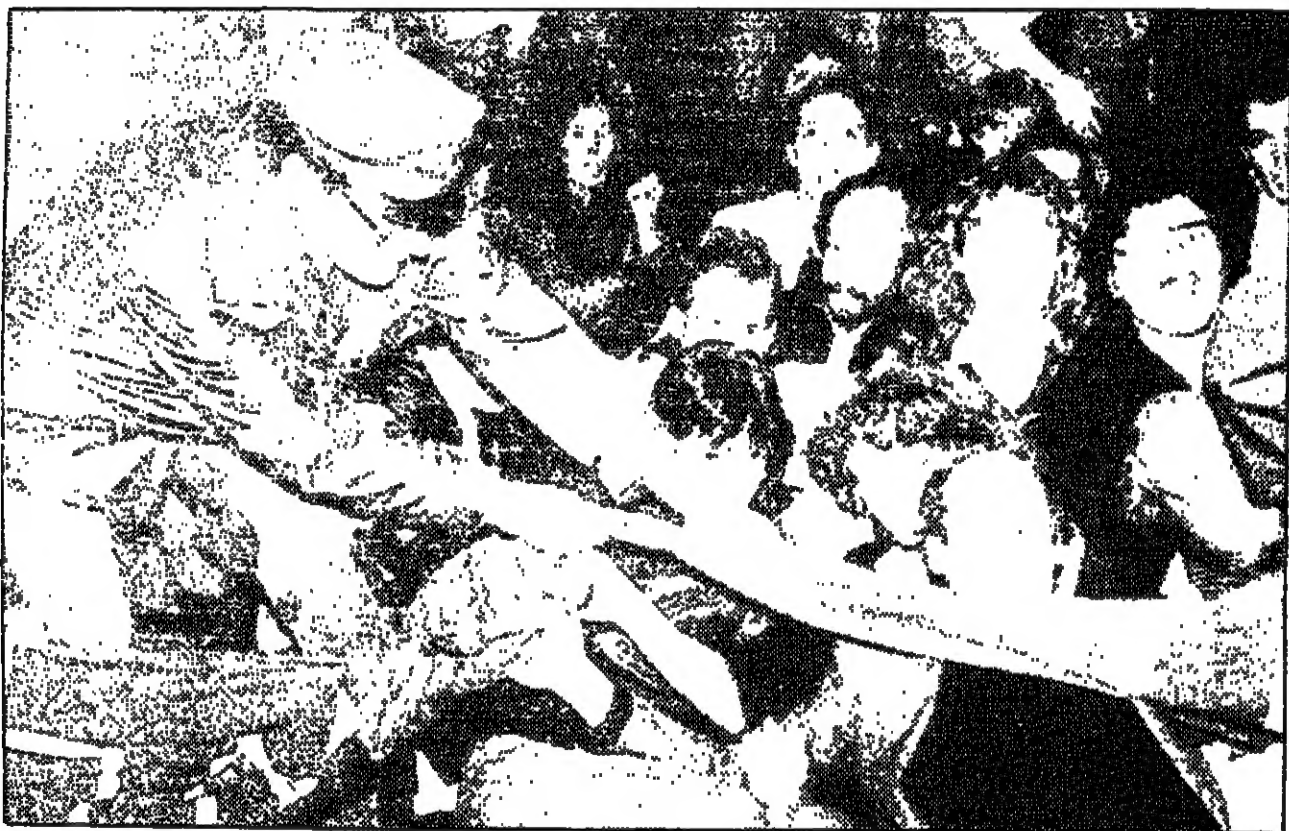
Woods, it was agreed, deserved a checkup after 40 years. The group called for continued study by finance ministers and for more lending power for the World Bank and other international agencies.

On trade, the conference made news of an unsensational sort by agreeing to consult with trading partners about the possible launching of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations, now that the Tokyo Round is virtually finished. But, while damping protectionism, the summiters did not repeat their own protectionist sins, committed since a similar pledge at Williamsburg last year. On oil, they said the international community was well prepared to deal with a possible disruption of supplies as a result of the Iran-Iraq war, but the United

States did not obtain support in the communiqué for a faster trigger on oil-sharing measures. The leaders also signed a statement of commitment to democratic values, without getting specific about what this implied for the Western military alliance, East-West trade, relations with dictatorships in other parts of the world or anything else.

But this declaration of common values fit the elevated mood of the 10th economic summit, the 40th anniversary of D-Day in Normandy, and the recovery from the worst slump since World War II. If the heads of state thought there was less to the exercise than met the eye, they weren't saying so. After all, who wants to be accused of anti-summitism?

Being There May Have Been Enough



Protesters opposed to visit of South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha staging a sit-in at City Hall in West Berlin.

Europeans Give Botha A Frosty Reception

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BONN — A large upholstered sofa was removed from West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's office last week minutes before South Africa's Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, came to call. The Chancellor typically sits on the sofa with his foreign guests as photographers snap. This time, Mr. Kohl stood unsmiling and stiff next to a relaxed-looking Mr. Botha. The Chancellor declined to re-enact a handshake for the cameramen, who did, however, immortalize the departing piece of furniture.

The episode caught the mixture of embarrassment and stagey frostiness that Mr. Botha encountered on an eight-nation West European tour. But, as his hosts sought a tricky balance between diplomatic correctness and restrained moral indignation, the tough-minded and little-traveled South African had reason to be pleased. His low-key European swing kindled anti-apartheid demonstrations, particularly in England, but his reception by leaders in Lisbon, London and Bonn went a long way toward lessening South Africa's pariah status in the West. "He has been de-isolated," a Bonn diplomat said.

For Mr. Botha, the road to Western Europe led through Marxist-led Mozambique and Angola. In February, Angola agreed to restrain the forays of South-West African insurgents in exchange for withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. In March, Mr. Botha and President Samora Machel of Mozambique concluded a similar agreement covering Mozambique-based guerrillas of the African National Congress and South African-supported rebels who have been attacking Mozambique. When Mr. Botha's diplomats subsequently put out the word that he would like to invite himself to Western Europe, several leaders found it difficult to ostracize a man who had recently been embracing his black neighbors, notably Mr. Machel. "As a general rule, those furthest from South Africa are the loudest in their criticism of that country," the conservative Daily Telegraph said in London, noting that Mr. Botha has several times encountered President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Mr. Botha's grand tour has taken in Switzerland,

Belgium, France, Austria and today he was to visit Italy. But the stops with greatest political weight were Portugal, England and West Germany. In Lisbon, Prime Minister Mario Soares was host and Mr. Botha also met President Antonio Ramalho Eanes. They have been knitting closer ties with the two former Portuguese colonies in Africa and he thanked them for arranging behind-the-scenes contacts that prepared for the nonaggression treaties. Mozambique is encouraging Portuguese skilled workers to return to help revive its collapsed economy, but Lisbon is looking for outside financing. Lisbon is also concerned about 800,000 Portuguese living in South Africa. Some of them fled Angola and Mozambique at independence in 1975, and might be tempted to return.

Only a few hundred people turned out in Lisbon for a Communist-sponsored protest against Mr. Botha, who remarked, "We live in a free world. I suppose it's everybody's right to demonstrate and even to make a fool of themselves." But in London, the first visit by a South African leader in 23 years detonated a huge demonstration against apartheid. Addressing thousands of protesters, Roy Hattersley, deputy leader of the Labor Party, predicted that photographs of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Mr. Botha would circle the globe "to the delight of the racist regime" in Pretoria. Mrs. Thatcher pressed home to Mr. Botha a line coordinated with the other governments on his itinerary: South Africa must use its newly won détente with its black neighbors to foster liberalization at home. Photographs of her glowering countenance in pictures with Mr. Botha were meant to convey Britain's disapproval of apartheid. But British bankers and investors who do business in South Africa surely drew comfort from Mr. Botha's acceptance in such polite company.

A White House Visit?

In England and West Germany, Mr. Botha offered to relinquish control over South-West Africa to five countries — the United States, Britain, France, Canada and West Germany — if the group would pick up the costs of running the former German colony, which is also known as Namibia. But he reaffirmed his demand for the withdrawal of the 25,000 to 30,000 Cuban troops from Angola as a condition for Namibian independence. Diplomats involved in those negotiations saw little chance of movement before the American Presidential elections. The 25,000 German-speaking whites in Namibia have tight links with Franz-Josef Strauss, the Bavarian conservative, and they could play a significant moderating role in a negotiated independence. Greeting Mr. Botha here, Mr. Strauss conspicuously offered a hearty handshake.

Having broken the ice in Western Europe, Mr. Botha may be tempted to try for a White House visit, if President Reagan is re-elected and the outlines of a Namibia settlement become clearer. Speaking to friendly bankers and retired diplomats in Bonn, Mr. Botha denounced "worn-out ideological arguments that claim a monopoly on political morality." He admitted that his country's behavior had aroused "ill-feeling." But he added, "I think there is a genuine feeling all over Europe that South Africa has a case to put to the world."

Canadian Liberals Will Pick a Leader This Week

Goodbye to Pierre Trudeau, Hello to Pocketbook Issues

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

TORONTO — This week a convention in Ottawa of Canada's governing Liberal Party will begin with a look backward. If all goes as planned, six spotlights will follow the outgoing Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, as he strides down a red carpet to his seat; a 17-year-old Quebec singer will sing a song entitled "Thank you Mr. Trudeau," and a 70-minute film will honor the career of the Western world's longest serving leader.

Then the convention will look ahead to a somewhat different Canada when it gets down to the business of choosing a new leader. Whoever wins the Liberal leadership and whether or not that man defeats the Progressive Conservatives in the next election, Canada is likely to take a step to the right.

The fields of interest of the would-be successors provide ample indication that Mr. Trudeau's preoccupation with such issues as French language rights and the position of French-speaking Quebec in the Canadian confederation will fall largely by the wayside. His flirtations with economic nationalism that have antagonized the Reagan Administration and American businessmen are already being discussed in the past tense. As far as politicians are concerned, the business of Canada will likely be just that — business. This is apt to go down well with the 11.7 percent of the labor force that is unemployed.

Part of the reason for the return to bread-and-butter issues is that until recently, the two men with the best chance of succeeding Mr. Trudeau as Prime Minister were in business, not in politics. The likely next Liberal leader is John N. Turner, who was a politician and Finance Minister until he became a wealthy corporate lawyer nine years ago. In an election this summer or fall, he would face a Progressive Conservative Party run by Brian Mulroney, until a year ago the president of the Iron Ore Company of Canada.



John N. Turner

Late last week, polls indicated that Mr. Turner was the first ballot choice of 45 percent of the 3,500 Liberal delegates, well ahead of the Minister of Energy, Jean Chrétien, who was favored by 26 percent. Mr. Chrétien, a French-speaking Quebecer with an imperfect command of English, is a much-liked politician but he is hampered by a party tradition that calls for alternating English and French speakers. Mr. Trudeau, although he had an English-speaking Canadian mother, comes from Montreal and is considered a French Canadian. There are other candidates, but most political analysts consider Mr. Turner a shoo-in. If he wins, he will automatically become Prime Minister, although without a seat in the House of Commons.

Mr. Turner is comfortable in a position considerably to the right of Mr. Trudeau. He favors drastic action to cut the federal deficit, reduced federal involvement in the enforcement of language laws, a weakening of some of the more austere provisions of the controversial policy of "Canadianization" of the oil and gas industry and closer relations with the United States. Mr. Mulroney's views on all of these issues do not seem very different, although he has encountered mounting criticism for failing to offer specific solutions.

"Both Mulroney and Turner have an understanding of business and the realities of this world having to do with other things more important, like defense," said Paul Robinson, United States Ambassador to Canada and a former businessman himself, in recent remarks that drew criticism as an intrusion in Canada's internal affairs. "The emotionalism of Canadianization has been tempered by the realities of jobs," he said.

Until a few months ago the Tories were considerably ahead in the polls, but two recent surveys indicate a strong Liberal comeback. CROP, a Montreal polling organization, shows the Conservatives leading the Liberals 46 to 41 percent; a year earlier the Tories led 52 to 31. The Gallup poll shows the Liberals coming back even more strongly, and now leading the Tories 46 to 40 percent; a year earlier Gallup showed the Conservatives at 50 percent to the Liberals' 32. The Liberal gain, linked by most observers to the publicity surrounding the leadership race, may be an incentive for the new leader to call an election as early as August rather than wait until later in the year.

A big factor in the electoral outcome will be the Tories' ability to break the Liberal stranglehold over Quebec. The Tories now hold just one of 75 seats in the province, but they talk of picking up as many as 40. Liberals are resigned to losing up to a dozen, and confess to worrying about the unusually large crowds at Tory meetings in Quebec.

Regional Divisions

A big question facing the Liberals is whether they will be able to compensate for any Quebec losses in the western provinces. They now hold no seats west of Manitoba. Mr. Trudeau was personally disliked by many Westerners, but a successor more liked by them would still have to overcome resentment of Liberal Party energy policies and the Government's program to cut subsidies on prairie grain shipments.

The biggest prize will be Canada's most populous province, Ontario, which usually has the final say in who wins. But much is at stake in the long run in the ability of the two big parties to re-establish themselves in provinces where they are now virtually absent. In the past few years, the Liberals and Conservatives have had only a weak claim to be national parties, reflecting and contributing to the tendency of Canadians to divide along provincial, regional and linguistic lines.

I.B.M. Turns Up the Heat in Europe

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

ON the second floor of a Karstadt Department Store — next to the kitchen appliances — I.B.M. has a new booth, and it is crowded with shoppers. A few form a respectful circle around a young salesman who is demonstrating how a personal computer can be used to prepare an income tax return. Later, the salesman brags that he and his booth-mates are selling two or three PCs a day.

"Normally, we don't go into department stores," says Kaspar V. Cassani, the 55-year-old, Swiss-born president of I.B.M.'s huge European operation. Until recently, I.B.M. Europe hadn't gone into furniture outlets or discount stores or cash-and-carry emporiums, either. But times have changed. Sales of tabletop computers for homes and offices are entering a rapid growth stage in Europe, two years behind their surge in the United States, and I.B.M. is struggling for domination of the market.

The competition is stiff — stiffer perhaps than in the States — and the International Business Machines Corporation has yet to emerge as Europe's leading vendor of personal computers, which it decidedly is in the States. In part the company's sales team is fighting against European reluctance to buy American computers when European computer makers are struggling to grow and trying to resist I.B.M. dominance.

But the company is pushing hard, bringing over from America some of its aggressive sales tactics; in particular, its drive for over-the-counter sales. In just 18 months, I.B.M. has opened retail operations in more than 1,400 stores across Europe. And in March it slashed the prices of its per-

I.B.M.'s Changing Face In Europe

Despite Its Fast Entry Into the Personal Computer Market...

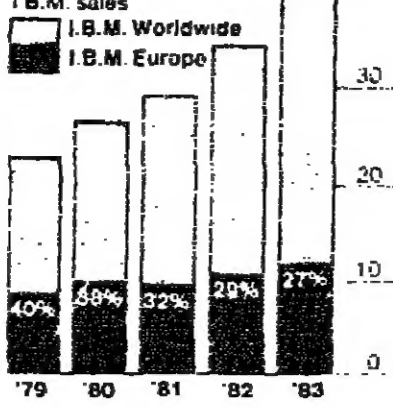
European market shares of leading companies, in percentages

	1984*	1983	1982
I.B.M.	23%	16%	—
Apple	18	21	19
Acorn	12	9	4
Olivetti	12	9	5
Commodore	9	18	22
Others	26	27	50

*Estimate Source: IDC Europa Ltd

I.B.M. Europe's Contribution to Revenue Has Flattened

Sales in billions of dollars and as a percentage of total I.B.M. sales



"When I cannot sleep at night and start searching for one of the very few things to worry about at I.B.M., then I fall back on the European case," said Thomas J. Crutty, of the Gartner Group, a Stamford, Conn., research firm.

The American suit, which sought to break up I.B.M., was canceled by the Reagan Administration's Justice Department. That cannot happen to the European case, which was initiated by the Common Market executive commission nearly a decade ago. If the commission were to rule against Big Blue — and a ruling is promised this summer — the company would undoubtedly appeal. But if I.B.M. lost, the company would be forced to disclose the key secrets of each new

personal computer by more than 20 percent, bringing them roughly in line with United States prices. Another cut might be in store in the wake of last week's decision by I.B.M. to cut American prices by about 20 percent.

"We are dealing with a different I.B.M. today," said Elserino Pini, executive vice president for strategy and development at Olivetti, an arch competitor. "They never discounted; now they're discounting. They used to be predictable; today they try to use any kind of marketing tool."

I.B.M. is also trying to rid itself of a European antitrust case that rivals in significance the antitrust suit brought by the United States Justice Department in the 1970's and dropped in 1982.

computer model, as soon as that model was announced in the States.

That would give competitors in Europe, and everywhere else, a head start of a year or more in developing rival computers that match the I.B.M. product. Hitachi, for example, would not have had to steal I.B.M. secrets in California last year because "we would have had to give it to them," John Opel, I.B.M.'s chairman, said recently.

But a solution might be in the wind. Mr. Opel and other I.B.M. executives were in Europe last week negotiating a compromise, company officials said. No one would say what the compromise might be, but it would address at least some of the concerns of I.B.M.'s European competitors as well as the hundreds of companies that have sprung up in Europe to sell software for I.B.M. machines or peripheral equipment, such as printers, that plug into I.B.M. computers. They have charged in the Common Market case that Big Blue's refusal to divulge technical details until its products are shipped is an abuse of the company's strong market position.

Until about 1981, life was more peaceful for I.B.M. in Europe. For decades, most of the computers sold on the continent were big mainframes and no other company matched I.B.M.'s million dollar machines, which accounted for nearly 80 percent of the total computer market. As a result, I.B.M. Europe's revenue and net income hovered between 35 and 40 percent of the company's worldwide earnings, making Europe second only to the United States in I.B.M.'s scheme of things.

But the personal computer has rolled the waters. For one thing, I.B.M. is a laggard. It offered its PC line in Europe for the first time in 1983, well after America's Apple and Commodore, Italy's Olivetti and Brit-

ain's International Computer had established themselves in that field. For another, I.B.M.'s pinstriped sales force, accustomed to dealing with large corporate clients, had trouble selling the small-business men who are the main European customers for personal computers. Few European households are that interested in home computers, partly because of the price range, generally between \$2,500 and \$5,000 for an I.B.M. machine. Until they become more interested, I.B.M. has put off introducing the PCjr. on the continent.

Retail outlets were chosen as the principal sales tool for the personal

lishments," said Mr. Cassani, a jovial former I.B.M. salesman himself, who operates out of the company's headquarters in Paris. Until that growth materializes, Europe is a backwater for personal computers compared with the demand in America, where I.B.M. alone is likely to sell two million PCs this year, and other manufacturers millions more. That's many times the expected European sales this year of about 300,000 personal computers priced above \$1,000 a unit — even though personal computers are the fastest-growing segment of the European computer market.

While I.B.M. waits, it is in a bit of a bind. True, its mainframe sales remain strong and its PC is doing well enough, having captured 16 percent of all personal computer sales in 1983, the first year out. That put I.B.M. third, behind Apple with 21 percent and Commodore with 18 percent. And analysts estimate that in 1984, I.B.M. will double PC sales, to 120,000 units, and take a 23 percent market share — the top spot in a \$1.9 billion market.

But personal computers aren't enough to meet all of the European demand for small office systems. Indeed, a handful of European companies — Olivetti, Nixdorf, Siemens and International Computer — are outpacing I.B.M. in the sale of more complex systems that connect four or five typewriter-like terminals to a central minicomputer. These companies are particularly strong in West Germany, I.B.M.'s most important European market, and in France and Britain.

Tough new sales tactics mark its push in personal computers.

computer in Europe, because that was deemed the best way eventually to reach families and also the small-business man as he purchases his other office supplies. Many of the I.B.M. retail outlets are in stores that sell office supplies.

"There is a tremendous amount of future growth in Europe, not only among small businesses, but in city administrations and research estab-

Exotic Cars That Make Six-Figure Statements

By MARK H. JAFFE

THE mood was jovial at the white picket-fenced display of Aston Martin Lagonda Inc., in the 1984 New York Auto Show, as a short, balding, robust man in his 50's bought two of the English motor cars worth a quarter of a million dollars — a sleek, \$150,000 Lagonda sedan and a \$119,000 Volante convertible sports car.

"Jolly good, jolly good," exclaimed a beaming Peter Gaydon, the 43-year-old chairman of Aston Martin, clasping his hands together with delight as he witnessed the sale at New York's Coliseum early this year. It was in-

States and Britain, the waiting list is five months.

But Aston Martin is only one of a handful of elite European auto makers who are currently inundated with orders for handcrafted cars that cost 5 to 15 times the price of an average American model. At Ferrari and Lamborghini, the backlog is three months. And Rolls-Royce is two months behind on its production.

Sales of these motoring exotica are, in fact, seldom depressed, since their primary clientele are the rich and the very rich. But the booming economic expansion in the United States and Europe has created more individuals with both the desire and the money to

are not only speeding up production of their current models, but also planning to introduce lower-priced versions of their elegant cars in an attempt to widen their client base.

The car the motored drivers desire is in most cases the product of small factories employing only a few hundred workers, that often turn out only one or two spit-polished cars a day. Total sales in one year hardly approach 2,000 cars. At Aston Martin, four men produce the cars' engines, and their names are on each one. The company's flagship model, the four-door Lagonda which requires 23 coats of lacquer on its aluminum side panels, takes four months to make.

The parent companies vary in size tremendously. Gone are the days when Mr. Lamborghini, Mr. Ferrari and the Maserati brothers ran the companies that bore their names. Today, Ferrari is controlled by Fiat, the giant Italian auto maker; Lamborghini is owned by the Minors, a French industrialist family; Maserati is controlled by an Argentinean industrialist; Aston Martin was bought by two young Americans from shipping families; Lotus of Britain is owned by British Car Auctions and 16 percent by Toyota of Japan, while Rolls-Royce Motors Inc. is a publicly traded company in Britain.

Currently, most of these auto companies estimate that their sales this year are running 20 percent above those of 1982 when the economy was in recession and 10 percent above last year, a substantial increase considering these companies, for the most part, did not suffer during the downturn. Rolls-Royce expects to sell about 1,150 units this year ranging in price from \$98,500 to \$156,000, compared with 900 two years ago. Maserati is expecting to sell 400 of its \$66,260

The benefits of the recovery are filtering up to buyers of Maseratis and Ferraris. It was inevitable.

deed a quick transaction — 30 minutes from start to finish. Toward this purchase, the buyer, whose identity the company protected, traded in two Rolls-Royces.

While today's typical Aston Martins do not boast the machine-gun and ejection-seat options available to super-agent James Bond, they still have rich interior veneers, plush Connolly leather, Wilton wool carpeting, a digital, touch-sensitive dashboard and a 300-horsepower engine capable of thrusting them to 150 miles an hour. And the 315 craftsmen who make 240 of them a year at the Aston Martin factory in Buckinghamshire, England, simply cannot meet the public demand. Both in the United

buy what are billed as the fastest, most luxurious, best handling and most expensive cars in the world.

"The wealthy buy an Aston Martin because they want to make a statement that they appreciate nice things," said Mr. Gaydon. "They buy nice houses and they buy nice boats, and they buy nice motor cars."

In the last two years, prosperity in the United States — particularly among the instant millionaires of Silicon Valley — has made this country the primary market for these four-wheel extravaganzas. More than half the production of the elite car companies is scheduled to be sent to these shores this year. To accommodate growing demand, several companies

Autos for the Elite

MAKE	ORIGIN	MODELS AND PRICES
Aston Martin	Britain	Lagonda \$150,000
		Volante \$119,000
		Vantage \$50,000-\$60,000
Ferrari	Italy	308GTS \$59,500
		GTB \$52,000
		Mondial \$60,000
Lamborghini	Italy	Mondial Cabriolet \$65,000
		Countach \$99,500
Lotus	Britain	Jaipa \$53,000
		Turbo Esprits \$48,739
Maserati	Italy	Quattroporte \$66,260
		Biturbo \$25,845
Rolls-Royce	Britain	Corniche Convertible \$156,000
		Carmague Coup \$150,600
		Silver Spur \$109,000
Silver Spirit		\$98,500

Quattroportes, up from 300 in 1983. Ferrari will bring in 800 vehicles, compared with 700 last year, and Lamborghini plans to import 150 cars this year, half the company's worldwide production of 300 cars. Aston Martin has steadily increased its United States car sales from 31 cars in 1982 to about 85 this year. Not large numbers compared with General Motors, Toyota or Ford, but that seems to be part of the appeal such autos have for their buyers.

"Now that the economy is so strong, there are many people want-

ing this type of toy, who are also quite ready, inwardly, to reward themselves," said Claudio Squazzini, president of Ferrari of North America. Mr. Squazzini noted that while, in the past, Ferraris were bought by auto enthusiasts who used their cars almost exclusively on weekends, he sees an ever-increasing number of professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, who now use Ferraris daily, simply to commute to their offices. These "newly rich people," as he refers to them, are becoming part of his buying public.

"Exotic cars are all about the need of people to be different," said John Spiech, president of Lotus Performance Cars in Norwood, N.J., which distributes the English sports car in the United States. Mr. Spiech added that his "clients" have incomes well in excess of \$100,000 a year and are much less susceptible to downturns in the economy.

"Purchasers of exotic cars always seem to retain their wealth," he said. "Besides, it is fashionable now to show your riches."

Trefor Thomas, managing director of Lamborghini of North America, formed in 1981, also sees an ever-growing number of buyers with large amounts of cash to spend. Lamborghini has sold about 25 of its Italian-built \$99,500 Countach (pronounced KUN-tash) sports cars this year — all in cash transactions. Mr. Thomas added that the Torrance, Calif.-based company has found a lucrative market in Silicon Valley, where the auto one drives is the most visible measure of success. Six of the 1984 Countachs have been sold to those who made their fortunes in the miniature computer field.

Selling exotic cars can lead to some unusual dealings with customers. "We had a gentleman who wanted to lease a Countach," Mr. Thomas said, "and the car-leasing company he had dealt with for 25 years refused to secure one for him. So he bought the leasing company. He got his Countach."

Mr. Thomas also told the story of another gentleman who owned five insurance companies. "None of them covered automobile liability," he said. "This man had a bad driving record. Consequently, no one wanted to give him insurance. So he bought his sixth insurance company."

WEEK IN BUSINESS

A Summit Meeting With 2 Messages

The London economic summit meeting focused, as expected, on third-world debt, with the leaders of the seven major industrialized democracies agreeing that something must be done. But in keeping with the low-key atmosphere fostered by President Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, they offered few concrete proposals, preferring instead to express support for steps being taken elsewhere. By late Friday, the participants appeared ready to urge longer repayment terms and lower interest rates, but the Americans were opposing a call for caps on rates. Implicit in the discussions was the European criticism that high American budget deficits are largely responsible for lofty interest rates. As a result, Mr. Reagan spent much of his time explaining that the situation was under control.

But an unexpected message emerged with an added emphasis on political issues. The participants issued a "Declaration on Democratic Values" on the need for "reasoned dialogue" with the Soviet Union. Despite American urgings, the statement did not contain a specific declaration of readiness to reopen arms talks with the Russians, and instead remained a broad affirmation of the leaders' belief in freedom, equality and progress.

Mexico will get an easier debt

repayment schedule under a plan announced by major international banks. The plan is a response to complaints from third-world nations that rising interest rates make repayment more difficult. It is also an indication that the banks will take a different tack on third-world debt, rewarding those countries — like Mexico and Brazil — that have improved their economies and thus make better credit risks. The agreement, made after urgings from the International Monetary Fund and Fed Chairman Paul A. Volcker, is also expected to ease the crisis atmosphere in the banking industry that can be traced to the huge third-world debt.

Taxing Discussions. House and Senate conferees got the easy work out of the way in the first three days of talks on a compromise tax bill by agreeing on \$40 billion of the \$50 billion in tax increases they seek over four years. But they face major differences over domestic and military spending reduction packages. Included in the compromise are an extension of the telephone excise tax, curbs on income averaging for individuals and increased penalties for promoting abusive tax shelters.

Saul P. Steinberg is going ahead with a tender offer for 49 percent of Walt Disney Productions, despite ever-increasing barriers erected by

Disney. Mr. Steinberg is aided by the financier Kirk Kerkorian, who recently ended a bid to take MGM/UA private. Mr. Steinberg's \$67.50-a-share offer, made Friday, followed by two days Disney's agreement to buy Gibson Greetings, a greeting card company, for up to \$337.5 million in new stock. The Gibson deal, coming on the heels of a \$200 million Disney purchase of Arvida, would further dilute Mr. Steinberg's holdings. Recognizing that, Mr. Steinberg said he would sweeten his bid to \$72.50 a share if the Gibson deal were dropped and Disney capitulated. Disney did not respond immediately.

I.B.M. cut the prices of its entire line of personal computers, meeting the expectations of analysts. I.B.M. is apparently hoping that the price cuts of as much as 23 percent will help sales, which have been flagging throughout the personal computer market. In addition, I.B.M. will add memory to some of its basic models, allowing them to run more complicated programs. But despite the criticism of its PCjr, sales of which are far below expectations, I.B.M. did not announce any design changes.

Roger E. Birk's retirement as chief executive of Merrill Lynch & Company came as a surprise to many analysts, but is being taken as an indication of Merrill's attempts to restruc-

ture and slim down after a financial battering that has extended to other securities firms. Mr. Birk, who will remain as chairman for another year, will be succeeded as chief by William A. Schreyer, Merrill's president.

The stock market fluctuated during the week as the rally that began the previous Friday could not be maintained. The Dow Jones industrial average closed the week at 1,131.25, up 6.90.

Bond prices also wavered after a strong start, but moved generally upward. A \$2.4 billion drop in the basic money supply, unexpected by traders, put downward pressure on long-term rates late in the week, but short-term rates were little affected.

Dean Witter wants to market a leveraged-buyout fund to take advantage of the recent surge in such activities. The closed-end fund, which would finance medium-size buyouts, is expected to be duplicated at other investment houses.

A \$2.1 billion bid for the Continental Group was being called informal by the bidder, Sir James Goldsmith, but the can maker was caught by surprise anyway. Sir James's colleagues said his offer was friendly, and analysts noted that if Continental resisted, the British industrialist could have a difficult time of it.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JUNE 8, 1984 (Consolidated)				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
IBM	8,215,100	105 1/8	105 1/2	105 1/8
Exxon	6,878,600	40 1/2	40 3/4	40 1/2
AT&T	6,438,800	15 1/2	15 3/4	15 1/2
Sears	5,379,900	31 1/2	31 3/4	31 1/2
Condit	5,238,300	7 1/2	7 3/4	7 1/2
Disney	5,095,800	65 1/2	65 3/4	65 1/2
Supr Oil	4,854,300	41 1/2	41 3/4	41 1/2
Ford M	3,441,000	37 1/2	37 3/4	37 1/2
St Ol Ind	3,273,100	59 1/2	59 3/4	59 1/2
G Mot	3,240,200	65 1/2	65 3/4	65 1/2
Chryslr	3,094,300	24 1/2	24 3/4	24 1/2
Boeing	3,048,200	42 1/2	42 3/4	42 1/2
N Semi	2,964,900	11 1/2	11 3/4	11 1/2
Cntl Gr	2,935,700	44 1/2	44 3/4	44 1/2
Mesa Of	2,890,300	2 1/2	2 3/4	2 1/2

Standard & Poor's				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
400 Indust	176.8	174.1	175.5	174.1
20 Transp	132.6	128.0	128.9	128.0
40 Util	64.8	64.0	64.7	64.0
40 Financial	15.5	15.1	15.2	15.1
500 Stocks	155.4	153.2	153.1	153.2

Dow Jones				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
30 Indust	114.8	111.1	111.2	111.1
20 Transp	490.2	473.3	477.6	473.3
15 Util	125.9	123.5	124.3	123.5
65 Comb	426.4	425.6	426.9	425.6

The American Stock Exchange				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
TIE	1,617,900	13 1/2	13 3/4	13 1/2
Wang B	1,399,100	26 1/2	26 3/4	26 1/2
BAT	634,800	3	3 1/2	3
Domep	610,000	2 1/2	2 3/4	2 1/2
NY Times	581,900	29 1/2	29 3/4	29 1/2
Galaxy O	537,000	2 1/2	2 3/4	2 1/2
Granger	524,700	20 1/2	20 3/4	20 1/2
Horn H	519,700	16 1/2	16 3/4	16 1/2
Delmed	408,500	5 1/2	5 3/4	5 1/2
DataPd	404,800	19	19 1/2	19

MARKET DIARY				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
Advances	1,320	1,151	1,151	1,151
Declines	690	781	781	781
Total Issues	2,224	2,202	2,202	2,202
New Highs	36	14	14	14
New Lows	157	409	409	409

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
Total Sales	414,947,570	10,172,119,999	10,172,119,999	10,172,119,999
Same Per. 1983	438,746,350	9,817,133,468	9,817,133,468	9,817,133,468

New York Stock Exchange				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
Indust	105.4	104.0	105.4	104.0
Transp	81.8	79.3	80.1	79.3
Util	43.9	43.5	43.8	43.5
Finance	81.8	81.2	81.3	81.2
Composite	88.4	86.3	86.3	86.3

MARKET DIARY				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
Advances	481	350	350	350
Declines	292	383	383	383
Total Issues	908	902	902	902
New Highs	22	4	4	4
New Lows	151	151	151	151

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
Company	Sales	Last	High	Low
Total Sales	25,693,830	678,484,555	678,484,555	678,484,555
Same Per. 1983	52,742,255	1,038,366,845	1,038,366,845	1,038,366,845

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First Tuesdays, and Other Lessons

The Democratic candidates stumbled across the finish line in a blur (last inning, fourth quarter) of sports metaphors. "Welcome to overtime," said Gary Hart. The end of the marathon, said Walter Mondale. Mr. Mondale's figure of speech was more apt. For one thing, given his delegate total, overtime is unlikely. For another, the campaign was much more an endless race than a game. There was no halftime, no timeouts, no time for reflection — just four months of chaos.

The 1984 primary campaign taught many lessons. The Democrats' re-reformed rules worked but need at least one big unreformed rule: campaign finance rules became, if anything, more pious and less effective. . . . television became vastly more effective. But probably no lesson was taught more frequently than the one about chaos. The spring campaign needs to be more rational, and there's an appealingly simple way to make it so.

□ **Ration election days.** You could have gotten jet lag just reading how often the candidates flew between New Jersey and California. It was enough to persuade us that the time has come for regional primaries, with several states in the same area voting on the same day.

Yet 1984 has demonstrated a big defect in this virtuous idea. What if the New England primaries had come on the same day? Gary Hart swept the region and it would have had an undue effect on the rest of the country. Likewise, had Middle Atlantic states voted on the same day, the undue dominance would have been for Mr. Mondale, who swept New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. But regionalizing is not the only form of rationalizing. Another is rationing.

Once upon a time, primary politics followed a comfortable calendar — New Hampshire in February, Florida in March, Wisconsin in April, Oregon in May, California in June. That has changed as the Democrats have opened their nominating process to every state. But all the resulting primaries, caucuses and conventions have been crammed willy-nilly into four months. The primary campaign need not be so chaotic.

Not according to a simple plan once proposed by Morris Udall, the Arizona Democrat, and the late John Ashbrook, Ohio Republican: Let each state

pick its own date — from a list of only four, the first Tuesday in March, April, May or June. That would automatically create four quarters, create some order, create time for reflection.

There are other lessons to be drawn from 1984:

□ **Unration delegates.** Until this year, a candidate had to get 10 percent of the vote to qualify to win delegates. This year, the threshold was raised to 20 percent. Too high, insists the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and he's right. He got about 20 percent of the vote but only 9 percent of the delegates. So big a differential has an odor to it, one that should be corrected with a 10 or 15 percent threshold.

□ **Modernize the 1974 Federal election law.** The state campaign spending limits are invitations to hypocrisy and should be eliminated. Campaign staff members shouldn't have to stay in Massachusetts motels to avoid having their bills count against their candidate's New Hampshire limit. At the same time, the national limit needs to be raised. It was created before the full flowering of the present nominating system.

Federal law is vague on spending by delegate committees of the kind that came to Walter Mondale's rescue. It should be changed to make clear that these committees are not meant to be used to circumvent contribution and spending limits.

□ **Recognize the rising role of television.** Costly television commercials made some difference. But "free TV" was vastly more important, notably the dozen televised debates through the course of the campaign. State by state, wary voters seemed to welcome the opportunity to see the candidates unvarnished and unguarded. There's a general election lesson here for both parties: TV debates are becoming a primary locus of a campaign and the public expects them.

□ **Understand that voters are sensible.** Some people despair for democracy because of low 1984 turnout figures, but both the figures and the despair are premature. Curtis Gans, who directs the Study of the American Electorate, says turnout was up where voters had reason to turn out, like blacks energized by Mr. Jackson's candidacy, or where competition was hot. Turnout was down where, as in California, voters were turned off by rule changes and the lack of Republican competition. The primary process needs some rationalizing but the voters do not.

How to Give Airlines the Gate

Imagine that Apocryphal Airlines is eager to start 6 P.M. service to Duluth from Washington's congested National Airport, but discovers there are no takeoff "slots" available at rush hour. To get one, Apocryphal would have to persuade a committee of airline representatives, or a Government appeals committee, that it is more deserving than some carrier already flying at that hour. But under a plan now proposed by the Department of Transportation, it could buy the slot from a competitor at a privately negotiated price.

Such a system was tried experimentally two years ago at National Airport, and worked well to allocate capacity at peak hours. It should prove equally useful today at three other crowded airports: Chicago's O'Hare and New York's La Guardia and Kennedy International. Indeed, a real question about the plan is, why doesn't the Government go further and auction off scarce slots to the highest bidders?

Many economists have long wanted to complement the deregulation of airline fares and schedules with market-oriented reforms in the distribution of scarce takeoff and landing rights. The only certain way to decide who most values the slots, they contend, is to see who will pay the most.

Critics reply that such a system would serve private rather than public interest. It might, for example, result in less service to some small cities. And it would reduce potential competition by favoring carriers with deep pockets.

Topics

Rejoyce

Three years ago, veterans of one of the most grueling of literary marathons, Marcel Proust's 3,365-page "Remembrance of Things Past," were told they hadn't really made it to the finish line. They had, it appeared, been running on the wrong course. A new edition, as one reviewer said, was "obviously the translation of Proust to consult."

Last week James Joyce's 783-page "Ulysses" was also declared misdirected. A new edition corrects 5,000 errors, one of which is said to cast another light on the whole novel.

Is another light enough reason to return to the starting line? For many readers, only one answer is possible: "... yes I said yes I will Yes."

Beggar's Opera

En route to a restaurant in New York City's theater district, two men

Alterations

were accosted by an aged woman hobbling behind a walker. "Could you help a starving woman buy a meal?" she said piteously. Each man dug out a quarter. The woman studied the coins, unimpressed. "You can't buy much with this," she said. "Can't you do better?"

When the men refused, the woman straightened up and stomped away upright. "And to hell with the both of you!" she shouted. Moments later, seeing another prospect, she resumed her guise, cup in trembling hand.

The two dumbstruck men concluded that some of the best actors in the theater district perform on the street, with a seasoned professional's contempt for inadequate pay.

Paying the Bill

When it comes to school desegregation, the Reagan Administration has taken contradictory positions. It abhors mandatory busing and supports

Neither criticism is very persuasive. For now, only four airports are sufficiently congested to make slots valuable, and then only at peak hours. Compared with the current allocation system by airline committee or bureaucracy, private transfer of slots might well enhance competition by increasing flexibility.

But in any case, the Government's proposal seems designed to allay critics' fears. Carriers on Government-subsidized routes to small cities would have first claim on newly created slots. Where airline committees deadlocked on initial allocations of scarce slots, the contested portion would be distributed by lottery. The private "buy-sell" system would then serve as a safety valve for carriers who wanted larger shares.

Why not extend the principle and auction off the peak-hour slots in the first place? Airlines would be understandably reluctant to pay more, in auction fees, into a system to which they already contribute with ticket taxes. But that can be avoided by rebating auction revenues in proportion to the amount of ticket tax the airlines now collect.

More fundamental opposition would come from general aviation — private fliers, mostly business, who now pay little to support the air transport system. General aviation fears any reform that would focus attention on its cheap ride.

But someday soon, perhaps within five years, the growth of air traffic, commercial and private, will force the debate on slot allocation. And it will be hard to justify a system that does not look for the highest bidder.

only voluntary desegregation efforts. Yet it has also cut spending for voluntary desegregation.

In 1981 Mr. Reagan persuaded Congress to fold the Emergency School Aid Act, which helped communities ease the transition to desegregation, into a block grant with two dozen other educational programs. All were funded at 85 percent of their previous level. The competition among local districts for funds caused desegregation efforts to suffer, particularly at "magnet schools," which rely on special curricula to attract students of all races.

Congress has now had second thoughts about the wisdom of lumping emergency school aid into a block grant. Last June, the House passed a bill earmarking \$100 million for a revitalized desegregation fund. Last week the Senate followed suit, authorizing \$225 million to be spent over three years. It's the first new educational program the Senate has approved since Mr. Reagan took office.

Letters

Labor Leaders Don't Belong on Corporate Boards

To the Editor:

I write to express strong disagreement with Douglas Fraser in his recent move to have his successor as president of the United Automobile Workers, Owen Bieber, become a member of Chrysler's board.

While taking nothing away from Mr. Fraser (he is a most capable man), I disagreed with his going on the Chrysler board in the first place. I understood the tough negotiating problem facing Chrysler at that time, but the principle was nonetheless wrong. Now, Mr. Fraser is in effect saying that whoever has the top labor slot should automatically have a seat on Chrysler's board.

Corporate boards have no room for constituency members of any kind. And others besides Chrysler, unfortunately, are accepting them, as in the trend now among airlines to designate one or more seats on their boards for union leaders. Long-term, this will come back to haunt them. This current offering up of board seats by airline managements is reminiscent of Dr. Faustus bartering his soul for immediate gain.

The acceptance of constituency members — should it take hold in the United States — would over time dramatically change the character

and operation of our board meetings and the historically important role that boards have played in corporate governance.

Constituency board members will carry political-type confrontations into the board room. Mr. Bieber and other board members representing the labor unions will have strongly divided loyalties. To be loyal to their unions (and as moral persons) they must live with serious conflicts of interest. The labor leader must strive to get more of the economic pie for his members, which may not be in the best interest of the shareholders or society as a whole.

The very idea of constituency board members flies in the face of an established criterion for accepting roles of important responsibility in jobs, whether in industry or government, that can impact on society: the absence of a conflict of interest.

There is too little good news and too much bad in the European co-determination experience to recommend this approach for us. The two-tier board system with labor representatives, common in several European countries, has had mixed to bad results.

While the U.S. single-tier corporate board structure and system has had its detractors, it is clearly the most effective

way to provide corporate governance anywhere in the free world. However, to keep this board system strong and viable, we must ensure:

- That directors are selected who can represent the totality of the corporation.
- That directors be selected because they can make significant contributions to the corporation as a whole.
- That there should be a strong complement of inside but a majority of outside directors, with the ultimate power, should it be needed, resting in a group of strong, mature and ethically motivated outside directors.

- That a feeling of trust and mutual confidence permeates the board, particularly between the chief executive officer and each of the directors.

There is no room in today's effective corporate governance system for the constituent director representing a special-interest group, whether from labor or any other segment of our society. If we permit the constituency concept to take hold, we will gradually sap the strength of our splendid board system.

ROBERT P. NEUSCHÉL

Evanston, Ill., May 30, 1984

The writer is professor of corporate governance at Northwestern University's J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management.

Invitation to Moscow To Befriend Teheran

To the Editor:

As the escalating war in the Persian Gulf shifts into its 45th month, the mindless American tilt toward Iraq sets the stage for a reversal of Soviet alliances reminiscent of the Soviet-Ethiopian conflict of 1978. In that affair, the American courtship of a committed Soviet ally (Somalia) resulted in Moscow shifting its focus to Ethiopia — the greater prize in East Africa.

Clearly, the strategic prize in the Gulf is not Iraq but Iran, which historically functioned as the geographic barrier to Russian expansion into the Gulf and Indian Ocean region. At a suitable moment unwittingly prepared by American diplomacy, Moscow will abandon its huge investment in Iraq for rapprochement with Iran, thereby fundamentally altering the configuration of world politics.

After all, from Teheran's perspective, Soviet SS-21's to Iraq (scheduled for delivery in August) are far more dangerous than American Stingers to Saudi Arabia and must therefore be neutralized. Moreover, Moscow — not Washington — is the power of geographic proximity, demonstrating far greater will and determination.

By upping the ante in Iraq, Moscow exploits the self-defeating U.S. tilt toward Iraq in the reasoned expectation that Teheran will accommodate to the necessary.

Teheran radio recently announced that, at the Kremlin's request, a senior Iranian official had flown to Moscow on a mission that informed sources said could be intended to persuade Moscow to curtail its massive arms deliveries to Iraq. The departure of Sayyid Muhammad Sadr marks the first such high-level contact with the Soviets since early 1983.

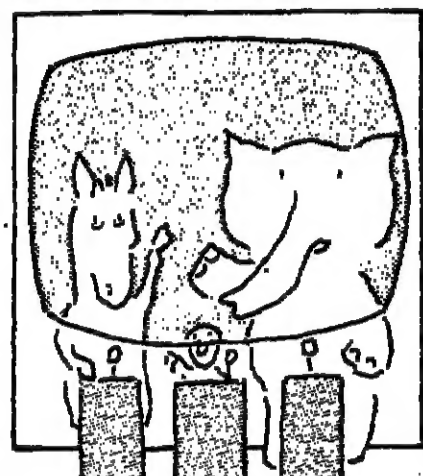
It therefore appears that the process for a Soviet-Iranian rapprochement may already be under way.

JOSEPH CHURBA
Director
Center for International Security
Washington, June 5, 1984

Parties Are Unfit to Sponsor TV Debates

To the Editor:

Newton Minow and Lee Mitchell rightly argue that "TV debates between the principal candidates are too useful to the electorate to be left



to chance, candidates' self-interest and jockeying among sponsors" (Op-Ed May 30). But their proposal — that the Democratic and Republican Parties sponsor Presidential debates — neither is sound nor does it

guarantee debates will take place: • Because parties are by definition partisan, they are hardly suitable sponsors of nonpartisan debates. In planning for them, they would naturally put their candidates' interests, not the electorate's, first.

• Party-sponsored debates would probably never take place. The moment conflicting demands by the candidates surfaced, who would be the "honest broker" to resolve those conflicts? Debates could be canceled at a moment's notice each time one candidate's demands were not met.

• It stretches the imagination to think that significant independent or third-party candidates would ever be included in debates sponsored by the two major parties.

The League of Women Voters sponsored Presidential debates in 1976 and 1980 and intends to do so again this year. Sponsorship should be the province of an independent, experienced, nonpartisan organization whose prime concern is the provision of information for the voters.

DOROTHY S. RIDINGS
President, League of Women Voters
of the United States
Washington, June 1, 1984

Sure Losers in the Westmoreland-CBS 'War'

To the Editor:

Hard-fought contests have drama, and those between two good lawyers, mixing craft and craftiness, can be especially riveting. If the battle will also decide the reputation of an old soldier, famous for conflicts of a different kind, there is the promise of great spectacle. We may this way explain the interest in General Westmoreland's case against CBS, as detailed in David Margolick's lively portrait of the lawyers and their strategies (news article May 31).

But wait. This production could cost more than \$20 million. And since the general is represented by a four-

man, and CBS is a corporation, the tab for the slugfest is entirely tax-deductible, as is any sum CBS may eventually pay.

Now a good novel about Vietnam costs \$14.95, a ticket to a fine war movie goes for \$5. Though fictions, each is calculated to tell us something true. It is in the nature of courtroom truth, however, that Westmoreland v. CBS, though quite real, is likely to leave its audience little wiser. Whoever may win this war over war, taxpayers, silent partners of both sides, have already lost.

STEPHEN GILLERS
Professor of Law, New York University
New York, June 1, 1984

Oberammergau Play: Deeply Rooted Offense . . .

To the Editor:

In his Op-Ed article of May 26, Rabbi A. James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee attacked the Oberammergau Passion Play, which in 1980 attracted over 500,000 viewers to the Bavarian village of Oberammergau, as blatantly anti-Semitic. He urges an organized boycott in 1990, its next regular season, if the play is not radically revised.

I myself made these charges in a widely reported article in Commentary (1980). But I gave the reason why change is effectively resisted — one which Rabbi Rudin avoids mentioning. Quite simply, the anti-Semitic elements in the play, even the most apparently exaggerated ones, have strictly biblical warrant.

"The critics," Rabbi Rudin writes, "have pointed out that the play perpetuates the pernicious belief that the Jewish people, then and now, must bear the guilt for the death of Jesus, and as a result of this 'crime' they must suffer continuing collective punishment from God."

Rabbi Rudin's one quotation from the play, the shout of 250 men, women and children, "We take His blood upon us and upon our children," is directly from Matthew 27, from the famous scene of Pilate's hand-washing.

This scene is anticipated in the Book of Acts when St. Paul, angered after his rejection by the Jews of Corinth, shook out his garments and said to the Jews, "Your blood be upon your own heads. Henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles."

Even so conservative a Christian commentary as that in "The Interpreter's Bible" agrees that the behavior of Pilate would be inconceivable in a high Roman official if he actually thought Jesus to be a just and innocent

man. And it regards the Jews' cry of self-accusation, which has caused their descendants intolerable suffering throughout history, as sheer invention. It was undoubtedly inserted after the Jewish War, A.D. 68-70, which the Christians, by then excommunicated from the synagogues, regarded as God's punishment of the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus.

I thoroughly agree that there should be a radical revision of the Oberammergau Passion Play — which was, by the way, a great favorite with Hitler — but unfortunately, in resisting change in a 350-year-old play, the people of Oberammergau, defending a profitable, popular and dramatic enterprise, can cite popular and dramatic biblical passages which have resisted change for 1,800 years.

There are sound historical reasons for making these changes, but it will be difficult for Americans to try to enforce them in a period of vigorously reviving fundamentalism, when TV preachers proclaim to millions the inerrancy of the biblical text, regarding every incident and speech as coming directly from God Himself. This is a doctrine (though they have not been explicit on the subject) apparently held by both former President Carter and President Reagan.

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS
Cambridge, Mass., May 30, 1984

The writer is professor emeritus of English language and literature at Columbia University

. . . Mistaken Horns

To the Editor:

Rabbi Rudin is mistaken in interpreting a horned Moses in the Oberammergau Passion Play as evidence of anti-Semitism. Michelangelo's sculpture of Moses also has horns.

Father J. Robert Wright of the General Theological Seminary, summarizing a study by Prof. Ruth Mellinkoff ["The Horned Moses in Medieval Art"] offers this explanation:

"The earliest such depictions seem to date from c. 1050 and may well have been influenced from the rise of liturgical drama in that century and the need to make some decision about how Moses was to be dressed."

"The only evidence at hand to answer the question was Jerome's Vulgate mistranslation of Exodus 34:29 of which a literal English rendering of his Latin would read: 'When Moses came down from Mt. Sinai . . . he knew not that his face was horned from his conversation with the Lord.' The Vulgate Latin word for 'horned' here is *cornuta*, which is Jerome's mistranslation of the Hebrew word *qaran* meaning 'to shine' which he confused with the Hebrew *qeren* meaning 'horn,' which words would of course appear identical in an unpunctuated Hebrew text."

If the Oberammergau citizenry decided on a medieval production of the Passion Play, Moses with horns was authentic and neither racist nor irreverent.

ALICE HUFSTADTER
New York, May 31, 1984

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LONDON, June 9 — The world's industrial giants agree that the most immediate threat to everybody's economy is the huge third-world debt. Shades of chain-reaction defaults in the 1930's, which brought a general crash, darken the outlook of even the cheeriest Reaganite advocates of free-market orthodoxy. But there was no real consensus at the annual seven-nation economic summit meeting here on what to do about it.

The United States has accepted the need to allow what it considers deserving countries to stretch out their obligations over several years, giving them a chance both to produce for their own people and to repay. The lesson of World War I reparation debts, which contributed to the Great Depression, has been learned at least in part. No matter how great their share of blame for getting into trouble, debtors can't pay if they can't earn.

But Washington insists that help be doled out carefully on a "case-by-

case" basis, in Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan's words, as "an important reward and incentive" for stiff domestic austerity measures even at the risk of social explosions.

Seven major Latin American debtors will meet soon in Colombia to discuss an approach to their creditors. Argentina has so far refused to sign an International Monetary Fund agreement because President Raul Alfonsín fears the tough terms will provoke upheavals and undercut its new democracy. The military dictatorship took the loans, but Mr. Alfonsín has to face the consequences.

The oversimplified issue is whether "good" conservative behavior now is to earn indulgence and that recalcitrants are to be punished, or whether it is more important to get the world's financial system out of its mess than to punish the victims.

There is plenty of blame to go around. The jump in oil prices and the fall in commodity prices over a dec-

ade squeezed many countries. The method used to "recycle" huge petrodollar profits brought short-term relief but aggravated the imbalance. Western banks took the deposits and responsibility for loaning them out, usually on a lucrative short-term basis.

Governments were urged to borrow, often on standards the banks would never apply to private credits, since they assumed that governments would never be allowed to go broke. Many governments mismanaged the funds, some through corruption, inefficiency and overambition, some by sheer squandering, like Argentina,

which wasted huge amounts on arms and atoms.

Meanwhile, the recession shut off markets. United States interest rates soared, multiplying the cost of debt. It is calculated that every 1 percent rise in American interest rates now adds \$4 billion to world debt. The way things are going, by 1986 the big borrowers will need a constant supply of new money just to keep paying interest, a spiraling drain that would cut off hope for development and growth.

The Reagan Administration assures that interest rates will soon come down. Everyone else is skeptical as long as the budget deficit is im-

mense and the dollar is high. France, among others, urges the United States to give the monetary fund more resources to tide debtors over the painful hump. Blaming Congress, Washington refuses.

The prime U.S. recommendation is for debtors to tighten their belts and woo private investment. America did agree to urge the world bank to enlarge its role beyond supporting specific development projects and to coordinate with the I.M.F. where general economic support is needed to straighten out a bad situation. Washington argues that American recovery and Reaganomics will eventually cure all.

The U.S. endorses only short-term or partial measures to stave off crisis. It assumes that creditors operate in classic free-market competition, balancing demand and supply. In fact, both bankers and governments, particularly in Latin America, have acted like sheep, hustling to get to the front of the flock but all in the same di-

rection. First, too much credit was shoveled out, now too little. There are new lessons to be learned if the specter of crash isn't just to be postponed from year to year and ever more bailouts are to be required. The market hasn't enough medium- and long-term foresight to achieve the needed balance.

International institutions must provide it. The International Monetary Fund, in cooperation with expanded World Bank support, should monitor the takeoffs and climbs as well as come to the rescue in crisis. It needn't impose conditions before the sirens wail, but it should watch the growth of debt and use of credit, issuing danger signals in good time.

That would have a powerful influence on private banks, always attentive to credit ratings of private customers. The world economy is too intertwined to let the morass of debt swallow the hapless. Without a United States lead of more than do-it-my-way, the swamp still menaces all.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Lessons of Debt

By Flora Lewis

To Mr. Apartheid

By Donald Woods

lovers." Youthful indiscretion, perhaps. But you were no longer a youth when as Minister of Colored Affairs you personally caused thousands of colored families — mulattoes — to be uprooted in Cape Town, appropriating homes their families had owned for generations, to move them away from the white-zoned city. Then you became Defense Minister, masterminding the invasions of Angola and other neighbors, during which the Geneva Conventions were not always applied to civilians, as in the Kassinga massacre, in southern Angola, in which your soldiers shot dead more than 600 refugees,

including women and children. Non-combatants were also victims of similar attacks in Mozambique and in Lesotho.

Since you became Prime Minister six years ago, things have gotten worse for black South Africans. Forced removals of black communities from white-zoned areas have increased. Penalties under the Pass Laws have been made more severe. Squatters' shelters have been bulldozed and burned, and more blacks than ever before are being stripped of citizenship and consigned to the "homelands." The laws against dissidence have been strengthened, and under your Prime Ministership at least nine dissidents have died in political custody.

Yet you have the image in some circles abroad as a reformist with moderate tendencies. This reputation appears to rest on the impression that

you are offering significant concessions to the coloreds and black trade unionists. But let's look at the record.

The "vote" you now offer the colored people doesn't even match the vote their grandfathers had in the Cape Colony under British rule in the 19th century, when they had the same voting rights as whites on the same electoral roll — until your party took those rights away in 1957. What you offer is not the restitution of that vote but a formula for yet another separate vote on a separate electoral roll, leaving white voters with the real power. If taking away someone's house, then offering to return the back door as a souvenir makes you a reformist, so be it.

As for trade-union rights, nothing is said about union officials, like Thozamile Gqweta, who are thrown into prison without charges whenever their unions become too effective. In the same way, it was barely noticed when, after the international media

praised you in 1979 for saying you would consider reviewing the laws against interracial marriage, in 1980 you ruled against such a review.

You are a misunderstood man. When you said white South Africans would have to adapt or die, many did not understand that you alluded to adapting apartheid to make it more effective as an instrument for its unchanging purpose: to keep the black majority under white minority control.

If all these facts about you are clearly understood by the world community, by all means travel wherever you'll be accepted. But I don't think you should be an invited guest in any democratic country until you concede the same rights of free movement to all the political prisoners you have kept locked up for so many years, and until you are truly prepared to share with all your countrymen the basic civil rights you have reserved for so long to so few.

Following is an open letter to Prime Minister P. W. Botha of South Africa. Prime Minister Botha:

How ironic that you visited Britain and France last week during commemoration of the Normandy D-Day landings, which insured the Allied victory in World War II — during which conflict you and your colleagues in the Afrikaner Nationalist Party fervently hoped that victory would go to the Third Reich.

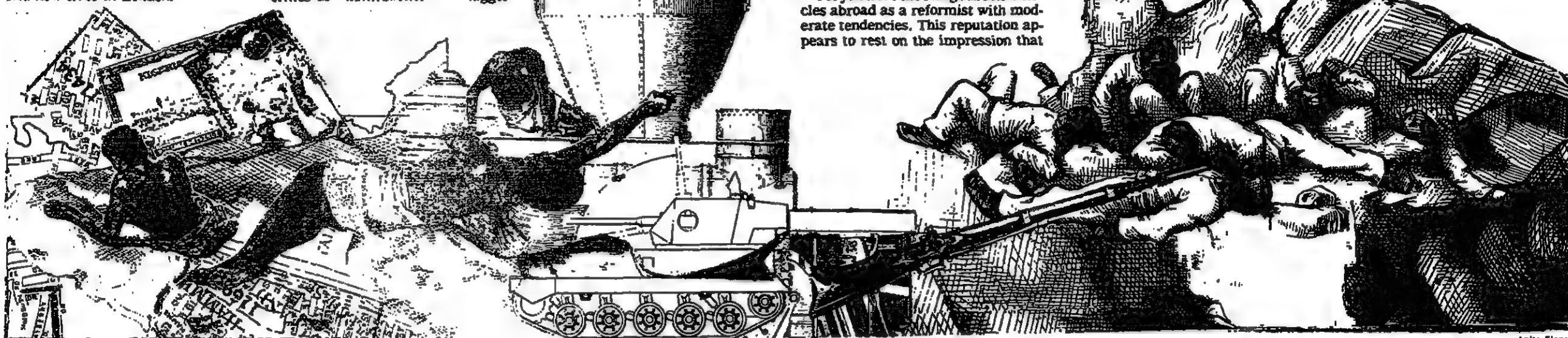
Considering how bitterly you attacked Jan Christian Smuts' Government for supporting the Allies at that time, and how openly your party admired Hitler, it was in character when you Afrikaner Nationalists took power in 1948 to pursue your own Her-

renvolk theory of apartheid — and today, under your leadership, the cause of racial purity flourishes more strongly than ever before. Since January, more than 50,000 blacks have been arrested under the Pass Laws, one of your thriving 317 racial statutes that make apartheid first cousin to Hitler's Nuremberg Laws against the Jews.

Speaking of Jews, it is also ironic that your Government is so friendly with Israel, considering that in 1943 you were chief organizer in Cape Province of the party that tried to stop General Smuts' allowing Jewish refugees into South Africa. Not to mention the "Hoggenheimer" cartoons in your party press then — those caricatures of a greedy Jew who was supposedly behind every conspiracy against the Afrikaner Volk.

Admittedly, racial slogans were more common in those days, when you led gangs of party toughs in breaking up opposition meetings, branding your critics as "kaffirboeties" — "nigger-

Donald Woods edited *The Daily Dispatch*, in South Africa, until his arrest in 1977 for publishing details of the killing of the dissident Steve Biko during political detention. Banned from writing, he fled with his family in 1978 and now lives in London.



Anita Siegel

WASHINGTON

The Crazy Democrats

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 9 — Just when most observers here thought things couldn't possibly get worse for the Democratic Party, Senator Gary Hart and the Rev. Jesse Jackson proved they could. The state primary elections brought out not the best but the worst side of Messrs. Mondale, Hart and Jackson, and now the question is whether the Democrats can control the damage.

Or, whether Senator Hart and Mr. Jackson are going to control it, and weaken it even further by carrying their personal ambitions — which are already boring the country — onto the floor of the Democratic Convention next month in San Francisco.

Mr. Hart and Mr. Jackson are behaving very badly. Failure seems to have gone to their heads. Maybe when they get a little rest, they will remember that their problem is not to win in July but in November, but so far there's no evidence they have come to their senses.

Apparently, they have visions of a spectacular confrontation with Mr. Mondale in San Francisco, with Mr. Hart challenging the credentials of Mr. Mondale's delegates, and Mr. Jackson calling for "justice before unity." This will be good television but bad politics, for they know it will produce neither justice nor unity and nobody will cheer but the Republicans.

The longer the Democrats concentrate on their differences with one another, the less time they'll have to concentrate on their common differences with President Reagan.

Never mind, they say: We'll get to Mr. Reagan and his record later. But already with their squabbling they are in danger of the one thing they should fear the most: a growing feeling in the country that the Democratic campaign is a struggle of personal ambitions, and that Mr. Reagan's victory is inevitable.

This notion is already spreading across the country, ironically before anybody has been nominated or the future issues for decision between the parties have been debated.

These self-destructive impulses within the Democratic Party are reminiscent of the divisions that contributed to their defeat in the Nixon-Humphrey Presidential contest of 1968.

For then, many liberal Democrats abandoned Mr. Mondale's old buddy, Vice President Humphrey, on the grounds that Mr. Humphrey wouldn't break openly with President Johnson on the continuation of the Vietnam War, and said maybe after all, there was not that much difference between

Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Nixon. We know better now, after Vietnam and Watergate. Mr. Nixon won that election with a popular vote of 31,710,470 to Mr. Humphrey's 30,898,055, and the disenfranchised liberal no-shows made a difference in the big electoral states.

But many of the Hart and Jackson supporters have forgotten to remember, and are now saying if their guys can't win, they don't care who does.

If this attitude prevails with the Hart and Jackson supporters, the chances are that the Democrats will lose in November and deserve to lose. For the voters are bound to ask, not unreasonably, if the Democrats can't govern themselves, how can they unify and govern the country?

The chances are that Gary Hart will see the logic and danger of fighting a losing battle against Mr. Mondale and pull out. He is an intelligent man. He can add up Mr. Mondale's

Hart and Jackson proved things could get worse

delegates and subtract his own, and with the help of a little calculator, is bound to conclude that he can't win in San Francisco.

And also, that if he fights and loses, he may wreck the party; and even if he inherits the wreckage, spoil his chances of being nominated and elected in 1988.

Jesse Jackson is different. He will undoubtedly carry his battle to the floor of the convention. He is fighting for justice for the blacks, he says, which is his right, but if he divides the Democrats along racial lines, he's not likely to get what he wants on his own or from Mr. Mondale, or from Mr. Reagan in a second term.

At what point will the people have a chance to forget these tiresome personal questions about Messrs. Reagan, Mondale, Hart and Jackson — who's good on television and "who's got the beef," and get down to the issues that concern the lives of our children in the future?

This is what the people would like to know. For example, the question of "unity" is not merely a question of how to get Messrs. Mondale, Hart and Jackson together, but also how to get the nation and the allies together to deal with the common torments of the world.

Who'll Get Stung By Our Stingers?

It is time America stopped feeding Saudi Arabia's insatiable appetite for weapons.

The Saudi regime already has a huge arsenal of American arms: Redeye surface-to-air missiles, Hawkeye surface-to-air missiles, F-5 fighters, F-15 fighters, AWACS command planes and a vast array of other war materiel — \$40 billion worth.

Four hundred Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and 200 shoulder-held launchers are the newest addition to the Saudi military storehouse. Meanwhile, the feudal kingdom continues to frustrate American policy by providing \$1 million a day to the terrorist PLO and by financing Syrian military purchases from the Soviet Union.

What "emergency" impelled the President to waive the rule requiring Congress to approve arms sales to foreign governments? The New York Times reports that even some Administration officials admit there was no intelligence information showing a likely Iranian air attack on Saudi oilfields. The Stingers, it turns out, were really sent "to reassure the Saudis, politically and psychologically."

A frightening risk.

Whatever the purpose, this sale poses a special peril. The Stinger is compact, lightweight, portable. You can bet the PLO is already attempting to get hold of it. That would not be the first time American arms have fallen into terrorist hands. Immense quantities of munitions we sold to the Saudis were part of the hoard of PLO weapons discovered by Israeli forces in Lebanon.

But this time the danger is especially grave. The Wall Street Journal calls the Stinger "a perfect weapon against civilian aircraft."

In catering to Saudi Arabia's unquenchable thirst for military hardware, the Administration has created a new and frightening risk.

We pray that our country and its allies are not stung by our own Stingers.

George Rothman Institute of the Zionist Organization of America

Alleck A. Resnick, President • Alfred H. Kleiman, Chairman, Nat'l Exec. Comm. • Ivan J. Novick, Chairman of the Board • Paul Flacks, Exec. Vice Pres.

4 East 34th St., New York, NY 10016

Arts & Leisure

A Portrayal of Alcoholism Ignites 'Under the Volcano'

By E. J. DIONNE

PARIS
"For he was not sober. No, he was not, not at this very moment he was not. And even if he were not sober now, by what fabulous stages, comparable indeed only to the paths and spheres of the Holy Cabbala itself, had he reached this stage again, touched briefly once before this morning, this stage at which alone he could, as she put it, 'cope,' this precarious precious stage, so arduous to maintain, of being drunk in which alone he was sober!"

—From Malcolm Lowry's "Under the Volcano."

When John Huston went before the press after the showing of his "Under the Volcano" at the Cannes Film Festival last month, he was confronted with a most peculiar question.

During the filming of "Under the Volcano," Mr. Huston was asked, was Albert Finney drunk?

The 77-year old director laughed, clearly appreciating the inquiry about Mr. Finney's role as the British consul in the Mexican town of Quauhnahuac. "Not at all, not for a moment," Mr. Huston replied. "He only got drunk after shooting, never while on the set."

That the question was asked was a powerful compliment to Mr. Finney, who was challenged in the film to portray what some critics regard as one of the best and most complicated alcoholic characters to appear in modern fiction. For not only was The Consul in Malcolm Lowry's novel an alcoholic; he was also a wise and witty one whose drinking problem, in Mr. Huston's words, "represents not self-destruction but rather outrage."

"If any other character in my films resembles that of The Consul," said Mr. Huston, who put "Moby Dick" to film, "it would be Ahab, who raises his fist to a malignant Deity."

When the awards were given out in Cannes, the biggest surprise and disappointment among the critics was the failure to acknowledge Mr. Huston's film, and Mr. Finney's performance in particular.

To be sure, not every critic loved "Under the Volcano," and a few thought Mr. Finney might have overdone the part a bit. (Mr. Huston resolutely disagrees.) But among France's partisan newspapers, competing dailies that almost never agree on anything were united in their unhappiness that Mr. Finney did not win

some acknowledgment.

The fact that "Under the Volcano" got made into a film at all was something of a surprise, since many scriptwriters had been drawn by the book, only to be frustrated by the difficulties of translating it into film.

In his lifetime, Mr. Lowry experienced a similar frustration in winning acclaim for "Under the Volcano" in its own right. It was first published in 1947 to mixed reviews. Only ever so slowly did it become a kind of cult



Director John Huston—
"There's no formula."

work, a book that is discovered on back shelves by college students or literary critics and then, passed on excitedly, a rumor of excellence.

The work never won enough attention to save Mr. Lowry himself, if indeed any sort of notoriety could have rescued him. He died in 1957, at the age of 47, of an overdose of sodium amytal, a drug he took after a drunken evening probably not unlike some of the scenes played by Mr. Finney.

"Under the Volcano" became a genuine literary success less than a decade later. When it was reissued in 1964, The New York Times noted that it had achieved a reputation as "one of the few great novels of the century." One measure of its posthumous popularity: Between 1966 and 1983, the Penguin edition of "Under the Volcano" has gone through 13 printings.

Mr. Lowry himself once dreamed of having the book turned into a movie, but the project never came to pass. Michael Fitzgerald, who produced Mr. Huston's film with his

wife, Kathy Fitzgerald, estimated that there are 100 film treatments of the book in existence. Mr. Huston said he knew of 60, and that about 25 had been sent to him over the years.

Mr. Huston said he first read the book for pleasure and had thought of making it into a film, but denied that his was a longing that went back many years, a legend that has, already grown up around the movie. "I was not in pursuit of a script as Galahad was indeed the Holy Grail," Mr. Huston said with a laugh.

The book presented two major problems of adaptation. The first was its complicated imagery and a tendency for the narrative to break suddenly into The Consul's rambling and drunken inner thoughts.

The other problem was how the film should tell Mr. Lowry's story. The novel is narrated by a character named Laruelle, and many of the earlier film treatments had made use of him as both a protagonist and a narrator.

But Mr. Huston thought that the very effort to follow Mr. Lowry's style so closely ended up dissipating the dramatic tension of the original work. A narrator, who could let the story line in the book, got in the way of the plot's development on film.

And so in the screenplay by Guy Gallo, the narrator was jettisoned and the main characters were reduced to three: The Consul; his unfaithful but constant wife, Yvonne, played by Jacqueline Bisset; and the consul's half brother Hugh — played by Anthony Andrews — an idealist and an adventurer who had once slept with Yvonne.

Filming began in August 1983 in the village of Yauitepec, about 30 miles from Cuernavaca. And to hear Mr. Huston, Mr. Fitzgerald and Miss Bisset tell it, the relationship between Mr. Huston and Mr. Finney was about as mystical as parts of Mr. Lowry's novel.

Mr. Finney is directing and acting in a play, "Sergeant Musgrave's Dance," that just opened in London, and is also involved in turning the play into a television special; and so for the moment, says his agent, he is not granting interviews.

"We spoke in a kind of codal communication," Mr. Huston said of himself and Mr. Finney. "I mean, I would nod and he would look at me and smile and that's all there was to it. There was little or no directing required. All credit due to Albert Finney."

Mr. Fitzgerald described the relationship this way: "Albert would do something, they would both look at



Albert Finney as the tormented alcoholic Consul in "Under the Volcano," based on the Malcolm Lowry novel, opening in New York on Wednesday.

each other and they would crack up in laughter. Both knew that whatever had happened was awful. And so they did it over. Hardly a word was exchanged."

"Sometimes, John would shake his head and Albert would change completely in the next take," Mr. Fitzgerald continued. "Or John would nod affirmatively, and Albert would smile. That was their sign language."

"They got along just like that," he said. "They seldom talked about things."

Miss Bisset said her impression was that Mr. Huston was "genuinely awed by Albert's performance" and "was constantly surprised by Albert."

Indeed, says Mr. Huston, he was. He recalled a scene in which The Consul, still in evening clothes from the night before and drunk as always, is speaking across a fence to a less than sympathetic next door neighbor. As he spoke with the neighbor, Mr. Finney took his bow tie and his coat and

hung them on tree branches, chatting all the while.

"These were his own, all his own," Mr. Huston said. "Albert Finney has a wealth of invention and he would do things that were completely surprising to me and I would sit back in amazement."

According to Mr. Fitzgerald, the key event was an eight-hour meeting among Mr. Huston, Mr. Finney and Miss Bisset in which they thrashed over the film. After that meeting, Mr. Fitzgerald said, "everything changed completely" and little directing was ever required.

Mr. Huston, who originally thought of Richard Burton for the role of The Consul, said that he and Mr. Finney really spoke about only one scene, "the key scene" for Mr. Huston, in which The Consul, talking to his wife over a lunch table, flirts briefly with the idea of leaving Mexico and trying to rebuild their relationship.

But the half brother returns to the table and The Consul — "addressing

himself practically to the bottle," Mr. Huston said — recalls his wife's unfaithfulness, "describing their passion and their lovemaking."

"He finally rises and says, 'Hell is my natural habitat,'" Mr. Huston recalled. "At that point, the thread was cut. At that moment, it was the descent into the inferno."

Asked how one went about directing a drunk, Mr. Huston smiled his familiar, craggy smile. "There's no formula," he said. "There are the various values and shades of drunkenness and one didn't dream of directing that."

One characteristic of The Consul was to move back and forth from a deep incoherence somewhere near stupor to an acute state of awareness where alcohol worked to make everything much clearer. Or, in Mr. Lowry's words, that state "of being drunk in which alone he was sober."

Miss Bisset said she sometimes wanted to ask Mr. Finney: "What stage of drunk are you?"

Athol Fugard's Dark Parallel

By SAMUEL G. FREEDMAN

The withered and mean man who appears at a Boer farmstead in "The Guest" is the South African author Eugene Marais. He is also Athol Fugard. Marais is historical figure, the character, and Fugard is the actor and writer who has brought him to celluloid life. Yet the connection between the two men is even more intimate. For in "The Guest" — the first of two films by Mr. Fugard, best-known as a dramatist, to be shown this month at Film Forum — the lines virtually vanish between performance and autobiography, imagination and self-revelation.

The real Marais was a poet and a naturalist, who influenced Mr. Fugard in both areas. He was a newspaper editor who exposed political corruption in his Government, just as Mr. Fugard has dramatized the moral corrosion of his country in such plays as "The Blood Knot" and "Master Harold... and the boys." And Marais was a drug addict. There, too, is a parallel, because Athol Fugard is alcoholic. The only difference is that Mr. Fugard stopped drinking 17 months ago; Marais, never able or willing to stop using morphine, shot himself to death in 1936 while going through withdrawal. That exception aside, in playing Marais, Fugard is playing Fugard — something he realizes even more in retrospect than when he wrote and acted in the film in 1976.

"That is absolutely one of the things that fascinated me, and still fascinates me, about Marais," Mr. Fugard said in a recent conversation in New York. "This man's poetry, his incredible work as a naturalist — and then this dark side, this dark parallel to me. There is this addictive nature in my personality. I'm not known for my self-control; I have virtually none. I've never got to the point of sticking a needle in my arm, but I did reach the point where I had to stand up at an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting in New York and say, 'My name is Athol Fugard and I am an alcoholic.'"

"At no point in my life were there ever a set of circumstances where I had to plead and beg for my fix, as

Marais did. But there were occasions when I desperately wanted alcohol and I didn't have it. I think I had enough going on in my personal life that I had some intuitive sense of what Marais was going through. In playing the part, I processed myself. I can only describe it as if I once had a very strange dream about being Eugene Marais. It was very difficult. I had to spiral away, hide behind myself. While making that film, I could hardly deal with people. I was like Marais."

Marais (1871-1936) began using morphine to ease his migraine headaches in the 1890's, and he remained addicted for nearly 45 years, even as he produced such poems as "Song of South Africa," one of the barbingers of Afrikaans literature, and the provocative and controversial zoology books "The Soul of the Ape" and "The Soul of the White Ant." "The Guest" follows Marais's actual attempt to cure his addiction by sequestering himself with a farming family in the Transvaal for nine months of 1926. At the instructions of Marais's doctor, the family was to gradually decrease his daily dosage of morphine until he had been weaned from the drug.

Mr. Fugard as author-actor and Ross Devenish as director dramatized the struggle with unflinching eyes. The camera bores in on Marais as he cooks his morphine, ties his arm, all scabs and bruises, and finally hits a vein. When Marais goes into withdrawal, he bullies and pleads with the family for more morphine; when they at last relent, he forces the son to inject him. Eventually, Marais does curtail his use, but, in perhaps the most disturbing sequence in the film, just as he is on the verge of freedom, he locks himself into his room, shoots up again and exults in a private euphoria.

Marais developed a philosophy to rationalize his drug addiction. In a phrase quoted during "The Guest," he wrote, "Pain is the condition of all existence, escape from pain the purpose of all striving." Mr. Fugard, too, said he found ways to intellectualize his own self-destruction. He writes out of the pain of the South African experience and out of a deep personal guilt about racism, and alcohol was

one road into the melancholy and meditation from which so much art springs. Ultimately, however, the road became a destination in itself, and instead of self-awareness Mr. Fugard found self-pity.

"There's no drunk in this world — and I'm talking from experience — who doesn't become emotionally self-indulgent," Mr. Fugard said. "Alcohol and art. The myths of self-indulgence. When we were making 'The Guest,' I was still endorsing and living that romantic notion of self-destruction. But it's not true. If Dylan Thomas wasn't a drunk, he would've written more poetry. If Brendan Behan wasn't a drunk, he would've written more plays. I'm still dealing with this problem myself. 'The Road to Mecca' [Mr. Fugard's latest play, recently staged at the Yale Repertory Theater] was the first play I wrote without any alcohol in my system. And there were so many points where the writing went bad and the trip I used to lay on myself was, 'Well, if I have a whisky or two...'"

Whatever creative stimulation liquor may have provided — and Mr. Fugard now believes there was none — it also made the playwright belligerent and bawdy. Whatever pretense there was of social sipping, of celebratory champagne on opening night, Mr. Fugard also remembers nights in dives when he would huddle in a corner with his bottle while the bartender mopped up after closing. It is not surprising that the image of Marais — his addiction achieving dominance over his talents — haunts Mr. Fugard.

"I think that dealing with that man and that tragic history of someone who was not able to break the cycle set a challenge for my life," Mr. Fugard said. "Which I lived up to. I had many occasions in that first three months without drinking — which were hell, unmitigated hell — to think about Marais. And I realized that more appalling than a life without drink was a life in which I did damage to whatever creative gifts I have. If it was only an attempt to get sober, that and that alone, I'd still be hanging on. But I don't see myself at the edge of a precipice. I don't feel now like I'm at brink and vertigo could take over."

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PSYCHIATRY AND POLITICS

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL / Jerusalem Post Reporter

DOES PSYCHIATRY have anything to say about the current political scene? Do psychological processes in individuals exert an influence on the tides of the times?

According to Professor Rafael Moses, of the Hebrew University, the answer is "yes." Addressing 400 fellow psychoanalysts from all over the world who gathered in late May at the Givat Ram Campus in Jerusalem for the first International Freudian Congress at the Sigmund Freud Centre, Moses explained just how it happens.

The psychological processes involved are identification, projection and projective behavior. These are well-established psychological phenomena and Moses suggests that in the political arena they have a dramatic and far-reaching effect.

First of all, he explains, we all identify in one way or another with ideas, causes and persons. We identify with those we love and we often emulate them. Sometimes, he says, this is used by a strong figure who invites such identification. When, for example, Neil Armstrong stepped

onto the moon, he said: "A small step for a man; a giant leap for mankind."

Many leaders, says Moses, have used these tactics to encourage their supporters to "stay with them."

Secondly, he says, we have a tendency to project. Part of this is due to the fact that we have feelings we do not want to acknowledge, which embarrass us and which we will not admit to. These we tend to project onto others.

"We tend to blame others," says Moses, "and not always quite rationally: the grocer we think may have cheated us, the bureaucrat who by procrastinating seems to vent his bile on us, the taxi driver whom we are sure took us the long way and overcharged us and made us late."

BUT IT GOES even further. Moses points out that there is also the matter of identification with others as human beings. But when others hold beliefs that are inimical to us and threatening to our views we often handle this by "dehumanizing" them. We do this, he says, by projecting onto our enemy all those negative characteristics in ourselves which we find unacceptable in ourselves. Therefore, we get to a point where we ourselves are right, idealistic, pure, peace-loving and good, while the enemy is evil, villainous, cruel, malicious, vicious and not to be trusted. Having thus dehumanized the enemy, we then have less compunction about any aggressive act of our own.

This is not only true in political situations, says Moses, but also between ethnic and religious groups within the country. The "dehumanization" or "demonization" of our enemy is necessary so that we can deal with the situation without feeling wrong about it.

But another form of projection occurs, and this is in the mechanism of projective behavior where we either encourage or manipulate others to do things which we would like to do but are either ashamed of doing or afraid of being punished for.

In particular, he refers to the psychological relationship between former prime minister Menachem Begin and the Gush Emunim movement.

"Gush Emunim, that intransigent group of settlers in territories across the Green Line, projectively identified with Menachem Begin...and they thereby pushed him to adopt some of their extreme positions."

"But viewing it from the other side, we may say that Begin identified with the extreme position of Gush Emunim. They were then able to act out certain views which he could not express directly."

"By egging them on, probably unconsciously, to consistently maintain a more militant stand, he served his own ends in several ways. He was able to protect his right flank politically while maintaining a more moderate position..."

"Mr. Reagan in the U.S. is in the

same position today concerning his right-wing supporters, from whom he must somewhat distance himself."

ACCORDING TO MOSES, "Begin's covert invitation to extreme activism from this group, an activism which he could not overtly condone, gave him vicarious gratification for deeds of which he could not consciously approve." Recent poignant events in Israel, he says, have made these remarks particularly pertinent.

But it is not only Begin who covertly accepted the extreme stance of the militant factions. In fact, no single politician could have done so without the tacit consent of a large body of the population who also

identified with these settlers to one degree or another and who also got vicarious gratification from their deeds.

Moses stresses here that he is not speaking of consciously-contrived behavior but of unconscious desires, wishes and identifications.

Much of what Moses says is reminiscent of the words of Maurice Nicoll, a British psychoanalyst who worked with Jung and who said: "Tell me who your heroes are and I'll tell you about yourself."

Obviously it is not feasible to psychoanalyze an entire country. But one thing is clear—that as long as we do not know our own secret feelings about our leaders and about the world and about the Arabs, we will probably continue to project everything we find unacceptable in ourselves onto others, continue to dehumanize and to demonize those who oppose us, and to encourage—however unconsciously—others to do that which we cannot openly approve of or even admit to ourselves.

Blossoms of progress

RADIO / Helga Dudman

perspective straight) a crucial national event took place. This was no less than the National League's Quarterfinal play-offs (I am trying to get this straight too). This landmark in history knocked the economics magazine off the air, and did the same on television to Erev Hadash, the palpable disgust of Gideon Reichert.

But not Gideon Reichert over on Radio's Channel One. He was having it much easier. Over on that

channel, which is given over earnestly to education, new immigrants, Jewish values, and advertisements, the Everyman's University was holding its own, and Gideon Reich was discussing with a professor the policy of the Rumanian government toward Jews during the Holocaust.

IT IS HARD to tie all this together meaningfully, but here is another item. Still in that same past era, the Second Channel's *New World*—En-

vironment Magazine chose to broadcast the findings of a psychologist regarding the effects of football on audiences, and the influence of audiences on players.

From this fancy talk, it emerged that the phenomenon of identification is very, very important. "The fate of various teams" is crucial to so many of our men, we learned, because as one unabashed fan put it, "My value as a man is determined by my team. It's very simple. Most of us

aren't Plato or Einstein. But anybody can understand football. The game gives everybody a chance to express his understanding."

It's also "good for aggressive-ness," we were told (post-game massacres, therefore, would be even worse if they hadn't been preceded by a therapeutic game), and besides, it's great "ego massage."

The economics magazine was wiped out again a few days later during a short strike, although agile listeners might have caught the Army Channel's economics magazine. All economics magazines, I should point out, are heavily tinged with irony. That day we started off with the dollar-shekel equivalency problem in the car-buying field. You get a lower dollar price in the liberated areas just beyond Jerusalem,

but the higher shekel rate pays off well.

My Histadrut supermarket, I might note here, does its dollarization in a secretive, code-like fashion. The management has long given up printing prices on products. Instead, there are codes. The trick is to match the code to the price, which is listed in a hidden spot along with a great many others.

During that little strike, brief hourly news broadcasts broke the silence, preceded, of course, by the ads. The one for furniture—price in dollars, payable in shekels—provided a reassuring conceptual unity. Otherwise, there on the medium-wave band, we were in a sea of Arabic broadcasts, with only those sustained squeals at the Hebrew spots.

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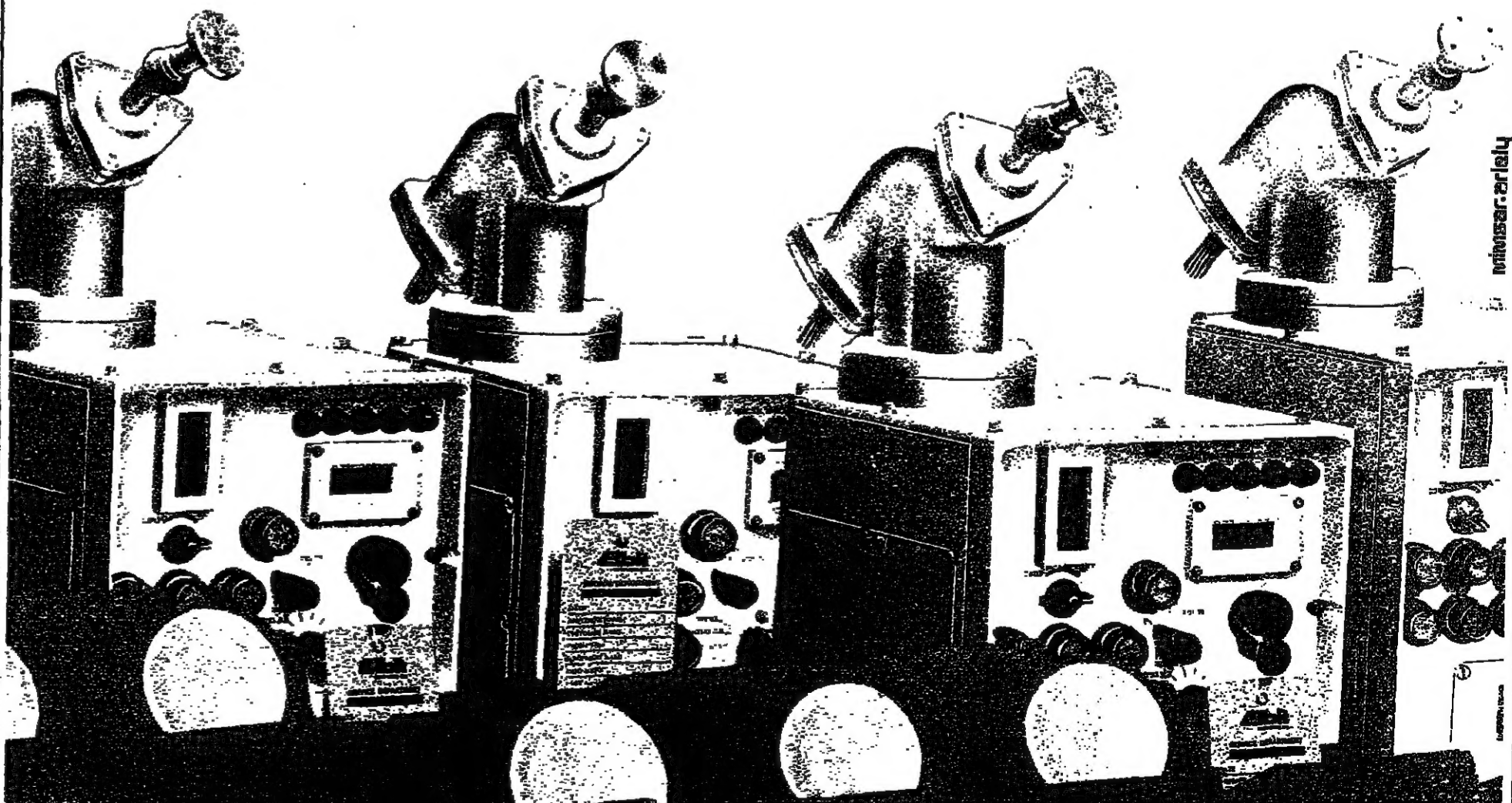
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Serendipity

RANDOMALIA
Miriam Arad

WHY IS IT that false eyes, otherwise known as glasses, are entirely respectable, whereas false teeth, politely called dentures, are something you're supposed to be ashamed of and conceal like mad? For the life of me, I don't see the difference.

The argument that specs are only in aid to eyes and don't replace them won't hold, as hearing aids don't replace the ears and are still not considered quite the thing. Is it that people look funny when caught with their false teeth out? They look just as funny with their specs off, peering intently at nothing and blinking like owls. What then? The fact that you put them in a glass by your bed at night? You don't.

No, I daresay the real reason is envy. Because what happens when you have false teeth? Never, ever in your life will you have a toothache again. Not a stab, not a pinch, not a winge. What else? You can eat akes, sweets, chocolate, and never worry about cavities. More? Your cal teeth may have been crooked,

yellow, too prominent. Your false ones, not made by some errant gene but by a professional technician, will be straight and pearly white and far prettier altogether than your real ones ever were.

But let's not exaggerate. It isn't as if false teeth never give any trouble. They do. Not as much as real ones, nor as often, but they do. However! You then go to your dentist, seat yourself in his nice comfortable chair with nary a butterfly in your tummy, take your teeth out and hand them to him, and he goes to work with his drills, his tongs, and all his other instruments of torture—but not on you! You can even keep your mouth shut if you want. Or talk if he's the talk-at-able kind of dentist, and laugh when he tells you a joke. Can you do all that when it's your own teeth he's working on? Not much—your're too busy moaning.

Serendipity it is. And you know what else? You never have to brush your teeth again. So wearers of false teeth, stop being bashful about them and start bragging.

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Keynote Speaker

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William Rand Kenan Jr. Professor of History,
University of North Carolina

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A symposium on Truman as World Statesman will be held from 9.15 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Tuesday, June 12, 1984, in Room 503 of the Maierdorf Faculty Club, Mount Scopus campus.

A DEBASEMENT OF RELIGION

By MATTHEW NESVISKY

TWO ADVERTISEMENTS that coincidentally appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* on Friday, June 8, point up quite strikingly the debased religion as practised by many self-defined pious Jews.

The first ad, displayed on the front page, announced that the recent *Jerusalem Post* Shavuot supplement contained a photograph of an open Torah scroll. Since the tetragrammatic Name of God could be seen in the picture, the Concerned Jerusalem Residents who had placed their Urgent Notice were warning readers that the picture must not, like most newspapers, be thrown away or destroyed. Instead, the photo should either be preserved or given the proper ritual burial.

Many non-Orthodox Jews (and I am one) no doubt wagged their heads at this plea. Yet the fact that I do not share the alarm of the anonymous advertisers does not mitigate my respect for their motives; they foresaw a likely symbolic desecration of the Name, and leaped to their duty to warn fellow Jews of the danger.

That's fine with me. It's rare enough in this world to find people committed deeply enough in their beliefs that they will waste no time and spare no expense in alerting the community when they believe an evil is at hand. It's only when this warning is juxtaposed with the second advertisement in the same issue of the newspaper that the wrong-headedness of many "religious" Jews is seen in relief.

The second advertisement is not marked by the modest anonymity of the first. It is instead boldly signed by

25 fearless and dedicated builders of settlements somewhere in the West Bank of North America.

Calling themselves, with perverse if unintended wit, the Committee for the Sanctity of Human Life, the 25 rabbis proclaim:

"We do not condone attacks upon innocent civilians. However, focused action against those directly or indirectly responsible for the maiming or death of Jews, in order to prevent them from inciting further violence, is understandable."

"We appeal to the government of Israel to recognize that, if those recently imprisoned were retaliating against individuals responsible for maiming or murdering Jews and the continued instigation of further terror against Jews, then the accused are guilty of no crime..."

NO CRIME. As if planting gelignite in buses or spraying bullets at a religious institution were "focused" actions. As if premeditated mass murder could be considered an intellectual pursuit. As if Israelis - at least those not handicapped by unfocused minds - do not know terrorism when they see it.

Sorry, but the red herring of "focus" is raised, ironically, only to blur the issue.

We have of course heard such wishful rationalizing among a few unthinking folk in the coffee houses and at the vegetable stalls, not to mention from at least one government minister's office. Perhaps such muddled judgement is, to use the obscenely facile term of the Committee for the Sanctity of Human Life, "understandable," considering the

kind of ecclesiastical guides and elected models that Israelis often have. But that such views should be articulated by ostensibly responsible "spiritual leaders" is inexcusable.

Where are the spiritual leaders who are thundering from their pulpits against the blindly arrogant vigilantes?

Where are the rabbis who condemn Jews who sink to the level of PLO psychopaths?

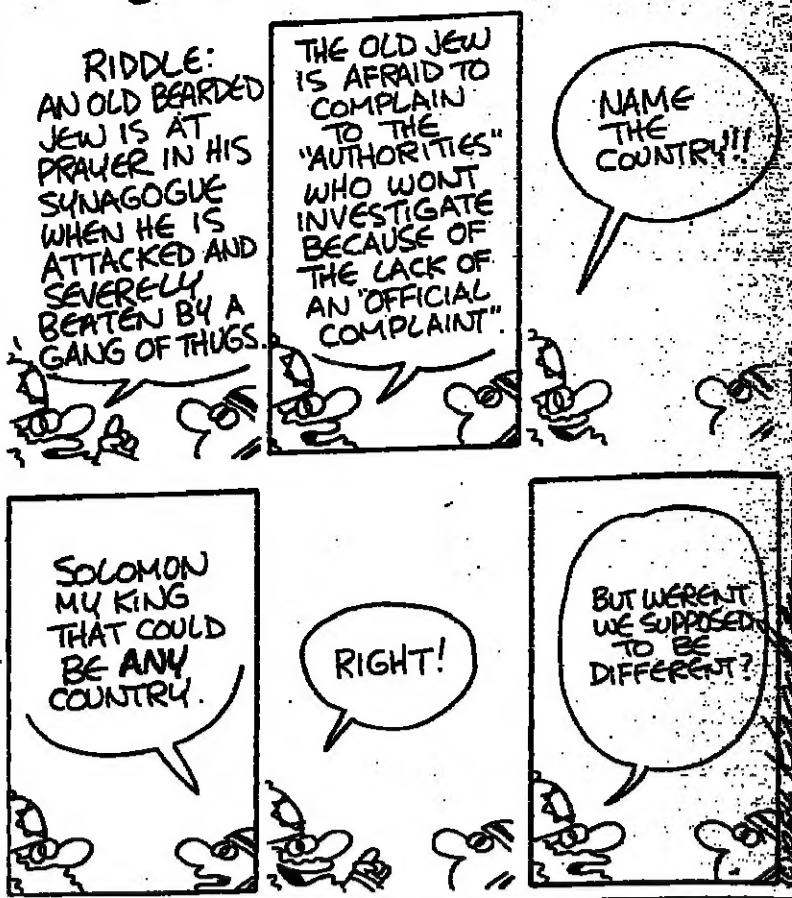
Where, finally, are our exemplars of piety and morality who are as prompt in denouncing the lunatic act of indiscriminate slaughter as they are zealous in preventing the symbolic act of the desecration of the Name?

It is this lack of symmetry that is the monumental disgrace of many so-called "observant Jews." They may observe, but they do not see.

There is an added dimension of the grotesque in the image of a man, whoever he might be, preparing to commit random murder while wearing a garment that he has scrupulously checked for the forbidden mixing of wool and linen threads. The paradox is that he is thoroughly observant and totally blind. One of the purposes of ritual observance is to reinforce moral rectitude. Apparently it can have the opposite effect.

It is to be hoped that every Jew, whatever his degree of ritual practice, should be inspired - for the sake of the Name or for the name of humanity - by the moral imperative to pursue justice and righteousness. It is to be regretted that the stream of Judaism that maintains a monopoly on religious authority in this country

Dry Bones



is often so obsessed with the *pillul* of symbolic precepts of Torah that it is frequently so inept, wrongheaded, or just plain absent when it comes to the moral issues that face us.

Is it any wonder then that the vast majority of Jews in this country continue to reject that stream of Judaism? How can we take seriously the Habadnik's desire to wrap us in *tefillin* at the bus station, or the Concerned Jerusalem Residents' insistence that we ritually bury our Shavuot edition of *The Post*, when those who would take it upon themselves to define and legislate for us who is a Jew are cut from the same ritually pure cloth as those who have the gall to lecture us on who is a terrorist?

A symbolic act of desecrating the Name does not injure God, it merely violates our concept of respect for God. If a cowardly assault on innocent civilians doesn't violate all ethical codes, I don't know what does. Refusing to see that does violence to the name of Orthodoxy; to the name of the Jewish nation, and to the Name Himself.

In other words, if we can't see cold-blooded murder as cold-blooded murder, then we have as much chance of being a light unto the nations as a candle has in a hurricane.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Curious charge

By SHEVAH WEISS

Menachem Begin, a man who stood at the head of his own movement for some 40 years and would still be there, had his health not given way.

Herut today would gladly settle for Begin's old face, if he were only well enough to make a comeback.

Political leaderships cannot be formed on a basis of "out with the old, in with the new," but on very different criteria. Thus, anyone who takes his socialism seriously should seek central leadership roles for men like Yitzhak Ben Aharon and Lova Eliav, irrespective of their seniority, while those who feel revulsion towards the new wave of chauvinistic extremism cannot be impressed by Rafael Eitan's "newness."

One can like or dislike some of the old faces - or some of the new ones - but it isn't their seniority, or lack of

it, which counts, but what they stand for, their abilities and experiences.

According to the line adopted by these pathological renovators, a man like Winston Churchill should have retired from politics in the 1920s. And who, then would have stood up to the Nazi barbarians? Some greenhorn?

OF COURSE the Labour Alignment should be open to change. It cannot stand still and merely gloat over past achievements. New situations call for new policies and ideas; old problems require new approaches. New faces should not be blocked, but neither should old ones be ousted for no better reason than the fact that their portraits can be found in the archives of the 1950s and 1960s.

Today's Alignment leaders are men in their late 40s, 50s and early 60s. Compared with the American president (74); the French president (66) and the Soviet septuagenarians who replace each other in rapid succession, Labour's is a relatively young and experienced leadership. And it proved its worth prior to its seven years in opposition.

Most of the team served in the Rabin government of 1974-77. They brought Israel to the threshold of peace with Egypt; they managed to see Israel through the difficult years following the energy crisis and succeeded in reducing the rate of inflation to under 30 per cent (which Begin found "intolerable" at the time).

These are the men who started the process of rehabilitating the IDF

after the blows it sustained during the Yom Kippur War; they began to introduce much-needed reforms in local government, while continuing to nurture and develop Israel's agriculture (since battered virtually beyond recognition), as well as its education system and health services.

Many of the men currently at the helm of the Labour Alignment held ministerial positions in the Rabin government, while the "new" faces in the top 10, Yitzhak Navon and Yisrael Kessar, can also pride themselves on several decades of political and administrative experience.

If any of the leadership have been ought to be replaced, it is not to satisfy the whims of those who trumpet for "new faces," but in order to present as good a team as can be put together by democratic means.

Those who seek constant innovation, pretty faces and young bodies ought, perhaps, to turn to the world of fashion. Or the upcoming Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

The writer is a Labour-Party MK and professor of political science at Haifa University.

AN OFF-HEARD complaint about the Labour Alignment is that it has not introduced any changes in its list. "The same old names again," is the charge.

This brings to mind the "dictionary" - the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) used to carry about like a Bible under its arm, incorporating terms like "new faces," "freshness," "renovation." As we all know, the party did not stand the test of experience and broke up into so many splinter-groups.

Ezer Weizman's list has adopted this same terminology as a matter of principle, and the DMC experience might well be repeated.

There is something curious about this charge that there are no new faces in Labour. First of all, because new faces are, in fact, constantly merging into Labour's political framework, with people of merit making their way to the top within the democratic framework of the movement.

But the strangest thing about the complaint is that it is usually voiced by members of the school of

READERS' LETTERS

ETHIOPIAN JEWS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, - Education and Culture Minister Ze'evulun Hammer's establishment of a panel of educational experts to coordinate efforts to improve the cultural and social absorption of Ethiopian immigrants could not have been done at a more appropriate time. Much must be done to ensure that the mistakes made with Sephardi immigrants in the early years of the state not be repeated.

Having had some experience with successful projects for the absorption of Ethiopian Jewry, I would like to offer some suggestions. It would only be logical, of course, to have at least two Ethiopian Jews on the panel, representing Falashas who have been in Israel a number of years, and one representing new arrivals.

Israelis must be educated to know

the history and plight of Ethiopian Jewry. The WUJS Institute in Arad tried to do something toward this end by holding an Ethiopian Jewry Information Night, which included Ethiopian speakers and numerous books, periodicals and articles on the subject. Another project started here was an adoption programme, whereby students adopt an Ethiopian Jew. They meet to discuss various problems or just to talk.

Another approach should be the possible establishment of a moshav or kibbutz for Ethiopian immigrants, since many of them come from an agrarian setting.

The more that is done now to help integrate the Falashas, the less problems there will be in Israeli society in the future.

ZE'EV BEN BEITCHMAN
Arad.

ANCIENT HAGGADA

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, - Your recent article on the ancient community of Jews in China was as fascinating as every treatment of that mysterious community is. This time, however, your article had special significance to me. I have just published in Jerusalem one of the oldest existing Haggadot, namely that of the ninth century head of the Babylonian Jewish Community, Rav Natrunai Gaon, which is one of my prize possessions in my manuscript collection. This interesting Haggada contains a very beautiful lengthy kiddush which is quite unique - except that it has also surfaced in an ancient Chinese Haggada published several years ago by the late Cecil Roth.

This clear literary link between Babylonian and far-off China should throw considerable light on the origins of the community, or at least on its cultural and religious dependence on Babylonia, especially the Academy in Sura, which of course at that time in history was predominant in the entire Jewish world.

DR. MANFRED R. LEHMANN
New York.

TV DEFECTS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, - The problems that Israel TV and we the viewers have to cope with reached their culmination with the screening of the Jerusalem Festival programmes. Regardless of whether the festival is a good or a bad idea, the way it has been thrust into our homes can only relegate the event to the level of a third-rate happening.

Most of the Festival TV programmes were made up of badly videotaped excerpts, largely out of focus, with changing colours, poor sound control and drizzling commentary.

The Israeli public must be one of

the most docile, apathetic and indolent publics in the world. Who else would put up with the following blight to its collective eyesight after night: blurred out-of-focus photography, smudged stills, highly magnified pieces of fluff on the edges of the film, constant changes of colour as camera A takes over from camera B, pictures without voices and voices without pictures, etc. etc.

Isn't it time that Israel TV pulled its socks up and started to run a proper professional service?

MICHAEL KAYE
Ramat Aviv.

SCRAP METAL

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, - The picture of Israeli coins being sold as scrap metal (May 29) illustrates the stupidity of issuing coins during galloping inflation. However, the Bank of Israel seems to ignore these facts of life and has recently issued 50 and 100 shekel coins. In a couple of years, these coins will be worth less than the metal invested in them.

Paper is cheaper than coins and

Netanya.

DR. JACOB ROSEN

DANGEROUS ILLUSION

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, - Certain political leaders in Israel are perilously deluding themselves by believing that Israel can trade territory for peace with the Arabs. All the Arab states - "moderate" as well as extremist - are still absolutely opposed to any sort of "territorial compromise" with the Israelis. A telling example of this is Egypt's attitude towards Taba.

Even if Israel recklessly permitted the establishment of an independent "Palestinian" state in the so-called occupied territories, how fleeting its independence would be! Syria would immediately try to incorporate the new entity into a "Greater Syria" and would stand an excellent chance

STOP

of success with the stupendous amounts of weaponry which the Russians are pouring into that country. The sphere of Soviet influence in the Middle Eastern heartland would thereby be significantly widened.

It is thus in the vital foreign policy interests not only of Israel but also of her American protectors to oppose any notion of a "territorial compromise" between Israel and her genocidal Arab neighbours.

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While Cohen-Orgad smiles

ELECTION TIMES are open season for labour unrest. If there is anything unexpected in the present turmoil on the labour front, it is that it has come so late. For nine long months Israel's wage earners have accepted, with amazing stoicism, an erosion of their real wages that pushed them back to where they were not in 1982, and not in 1981, as Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad defined his goal on various occasions, but in 1980.

Part of the relative quiet that prevailed so far was also no doubt the result of the tactics adopted by the Histadrut under the aegis of its new secretary-general, Mr. Yisrael Kessar. Last month, he concluded a new cost-of-living agreement with the private employers that fell short of adequately insuring wage earners against continuous erosion of their real wages by our two-digit monthly inflation rate.

At the time, Mr. Kessar announced that the Histadrut would reserve its demands for compensation until negotiations began on the new basic wage contract. He has now made good on that promise by presenting a demand for a wage hike of 22.5 per cent. He also adopted the astute tactic of presenting that bill to the government rather than to get mired down in endless haggling with the private employers.

The charge that the Histadrut is playing politics, not defending the workers' legitimate interests, is by now shoddy from over-use. There can be no question that the demand to compensate wage earners for the sharp cut in the purchasing power of their pay packets is justified simply because the erosion has gone much too far. Wage earners have been made to bear the entire burden of Cohen-Orgad's attempt to make a dent in spending.

In this vacuum, the Histadrut has now - partly, no doubt, to soften the impact of its demands - come up with an economic plan of its own. It can obviously not become a basis for negotiations until a new government is formed. Meanwhile, it insists on immediate conclusion of a new wage agreement, and implicitly threatens that unless the Treasury yields within days, it will give the various unions a free hand to take job action.

Cohen-Orgad's reaction to the looming labour crisis in the public sector has been, once again, a plaintive call for a so-called package deal. Seven weeks before an election, such a deal - of which he wanted to hear nothing last fall, when he launched his inroads on real wages - is not only a self-evident impossibility. It is downright silly, coming from a minister who undermined any basis for such a deal, and then, once the elections were called, opened a Pandora's box of wage demands by allowing himself to be pushed into election economics all along the line, including granting wage rises to the regular army.

It does not really matter whether Cohen-Orgad did so willingly, as a politician seeking the reelection of his party, or whether he was pushed by his colleagues against his will. In either case his fumbling has led to intense ferment among the professional staff of the Treasury, including the almost unprecedented resignation of his director-general Dr. Emmanuel Sharon. Such near-mutiny by Treasury officials reflects the disintegration of the government's economic management, such as it was.

The writing is on the wall. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has, reportedly, demanded that the government come up with a plan to put the country's economic house in order, as a condition for continued American assistance. We have had difficulties and hard times before, but never have we been presented with such an ultimatum demand by a U.S. administration.

But since we are in the midst of an election campaign Cohen-Orgad and the ministers, from Mr. Shamir down, will tell us that all is under control. Things are not so bad. We've never had it so good. And what isn't, is the Histadrut's fault anyway.

UNIONS LIKELY

(Continued from Page One)
incomes, taxation, savings and professional training. Kessar stressed that three aspects are of particular concern to the Histadrut - employment, and in particular the danger of increased unemployment following the elections: the sharing of the economic burden and the need to guard the weakest strata; and guarantees in the event that the government is unable or unwilling to fulfil its promises.

Kessar also emphasized the need to regularly update the taxation system, both with regard to the types of taxes and the rates paid. Tax brackets, welfare points and children's grants must be updated every time

FIVE SETTLEMENTS

(Continued from Page One)
They accepted the Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir's request to reconsider the issue.

A well-placed source told *The Post* at the time that the promoters said they wanted to establish Neria over a 1,000-dunam area. However, the maps they presented showed a 600-dunam area and the people who allegedly sold them the land owned no more than 300 dunams. Moreover, the sellers' ownership of even those 300 dunams has been legally contested.

Yesterday, the source said, the promoters filed requests to register the land in their name, but objections to the registration were also filed. The question has not yet been considered.

The matter came up at yesterday's meeting of the settlement committee, which unanimously endorsed a compromise worked out by Ne'e-man and Nissim. It approved the settlement on condition the State Attorney's Office determines the promoters legally own 100 dunams there.

A similar compromise was devised for the settlement of Ya'arit, near Tzur Natan. According to one source, Ya'arit was to include a 200-dunam area that had been owned jointly by two Arabs who had

Safe Drivers
SAVE SCHOOL CHILDREN'S LIVES